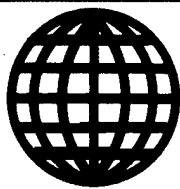


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Ramgavar Party Welcomes Independence Move

*91AS0122A Paris HARATCH in Armenian
30 Aug 90 p 1*

["Communique" by the Democratic Liberal Party "on the occasion of the declaration of the process of establishing Armenian independent statehood"]

[Text] The Armenian homeland and the entire Armenian nation is today on the threshold of a historic and fateful era.

Persistently loyal to its basic principle of national policy, the Democratic Liberal [Ramgavar] Party [DLP] welcomes the historic decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet with regard to the process of making the Armenian Republic independent—a decision which fills the entire Armenian nation with pride as well as concern for an uncertain future.

Moved by human rights and the principle of the right of nations for self-determination, which the modern world has already turned into a universal law, the DLP has always extolled the conviction that the people of the Motherland has the sole authority to determine its own fate, to endorse the form of government and state policy which it prefers or which is best suited for its conditions of security.

It was this understanding that propelled the DLP to support the Armenian Republic which was declared on 28 May 1918 and later Soviet Armenia which was declared on 29 November 1920 despite its political and ideological differences with them. Today, pursuing the same unswerving political course, the DLP offers its full support to the new Armenian Republic, though reserving to itself the right to hold different views on certain political issues if necessary.

It is imperative that the new Armenian state, which has embarked on the task of building a new statehood and which desires to be governed by the principles of freedom, sovereignty, and democracy, assure the economic and physical security of the Armenian people with the collaboration of a reconstituted Soviet Union, Armenia's neighboring states and the United Nations.

The DLP believes that the process that has been declared lays the foundations for the implementation of its democratic and liberal principles, in particular the establishment of an economy based on free enterprise.

The DLP is also pleased that the new Armenian government has endorsed the tricolor [the flag of the Armenian Republic of 1918-1920] as its official flag, ending the discord of the past 2 years. With that decision, the tricolor sheds its image of being the symbol of division and government opposition that was imposed on it for 70 years and is restored with a new meaning to its historic place in the life of the Armenian people.

Long live the new Armenian Republic, which is the Motherland of the entire Armenian nation—in Armenia,

in the Diaspora and Artsakh—and which must become the principal bedrock for the reunification of the pieces of a dispersed Armenian nation and the realization of all of our fair national demands and aspirations, including the international recognition of the Armenian genocide and the restoration of the territorial integrity of our historic homeland.

Hail to the newly free Armenian Republic, its newly-elected government and its heroic Armenian people!

Central Administration of the DLP, 25 August 1990.

Parallels With 1918 Republic Examined

91AS0122B Paris HARATCH in Armenian 1 Sep 90 p 1

[Editorial by Arpi Totoyan: "We Kept Our Appointment"]

[Excerpt] Armenia has joined other Soviet republics by taking the most important practical step toward naturalization. The "Declaration on the Independence of Armenia" announced to the world from Yerevan that an appointment made with history, alas delayed for 70 years, is finally being kept.

Although the declaration came at a time when we need solace, it engulfs each of us with a sense of apprehension and wariness. We are afraid to greet it with unmitigated joy even though the process of political fermentation has moved from Liberty Square to the Armenian parliament.

One important component of this sense of apprehension is the tendency to draw similarities and the involuntary impulse to remember. The declaration has underscored the set of comparisons between the present circumstances in Armenia and the situation in 1918. The truth is that the facts line up well for such an assessment. Today, too, there is a large mass of refugees, there is destruction and devastation, there is an enemy on the border, there are ambitions to end the process of independence and there is the grinding of unseen machinations. Yes, it is hard not to remember 1918, and then 1920, 1937, 1949 and all the other black dates.

But should our obstinacy which has wrested the right of survival from the hands of the devil so many times be suppressed by all this? Should we not look at the other side of the coin to see that it is not so correct or easy to draw parallels between 1918 and 1990?

Yes, today Armenia has a problem of refugees and homeless who have fled massacres as it did then. But these refugees are not the derelicts of 1915. They are not hungry, unprotected and uncared for or the potential victims of epidemics in courtyards, streets and orchards. Today no trucks run through the streets of Yerevan and Echmiadzin to collect corpses, as the horse-carts of yesterday did. Moreover, 1918 not only followed 1915 in Armenia but also ended a horrible epoch for the entire world.

In that double chaos, Armenia found itself in a situation where borders, territories, governments and friends remained undefined. The only certainty was the presence of the enemy and universal mayhem. Armenia became one of the republics of a Caucasian triad, but fought on its own. One day isolation came to mean independence for itself.

Today Armenia once again stands on threshold of independence. But today independence is a conscious choice which falls within the framework of the virtually coordinated steps of the 15 Soviet republics. Armenia is a part of a general process and despite everything its actions continue to be defined by mutual influences. While the 1988 demonstrations served as a precedent to that general process, Armenia today follows the steps of Lithuania, Estonia and others. Armenia is now cured of the weakness of hitching its fate to the arbitrariness of coincidences.

Similarities with 1918 aside, the Declaration is composed of two groups of articles. The first group are largely characterized by actuality, now that we have trodden the long path from 1988 to 1990. They appear to be unhampered by the perception of the impossible and dreams. These articles are related, for example, to the country's name, flag, anthem and coat of arms. It has become routine to view the "Soviet" label as transient or to see the tricolor flying from Yerevan to Stepanakert.

In contrast, the second group of articles evokes the perception of the impossible and dreams giving rise to apprehension. These include, for example, articles on Armenian citizenship—especially for Diaspora Armenians—-independent foreign policy with the outside world and ownership of national resources.

Article 11, concerning 1915, stands outside of these two groups. That fleeting mention, which conforms neither with the general spirit of action nor cautiousness and which cannot be justified by anything, vindicates those who would prefer that nothing was said on that issue. Unfortunately it is not this view that has prevailed.

A declaration of independence is a summary of a country's future policies. That declaration will be expanded to become Armenia's constitution and an identity card of the government defining all the "what"s and "how"s. It will determine all the rights and the procedures. However, the expression to "support the Armenian genocide of 1915" betrays a disposition to give up a certain right from the outset and to transfer the "task" to unknown parties. [passage omitted]

Yes, Armenia's declaration of independence is strongly reminiscent of 1918, but the similarity with 1918 would have been stronger if we had not taken this step today. If we remained undecided and waited, and if we went and put our somewhat superfluous and silly signature to a new treaty of federation—which would be drafted after debates over the interests and ambitions of each of the

other 14 republics—with the acquiescence of someone who cannot do anything else, history would be a progression of repetitions.

You may choose to be overjoyed and happy or remain cautious, but at least this time you know that we have kept our appointment.

New Patriarch Elected in Turkey

90AS0122C Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
6 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Excerpts] His Beatitude Archbishop Karekin Kazanjian, the archsacristan of the St. James Monastery in Jerusalem, was elected as the 83d Patriarch of the Armenians of Turkey yesterday by a plurality of two votes. The assembly of delegates first elected the Ecclesiastical Assembly in a tense atmosphere that lasted until evening and evidently in accordance with previously arranged scenarios and then embarked on the patriarchal election. As we wrote earlier, 94 delegates participated. The delegate from Derik did not show up, and as a result the number of delegates from the provinces was reduced by one.

During the balloting, votes for the two candidates were even for a long time. However, the last two votes were cast in favor of Archbishop Kazanjian, tilting the balance. Archbishop Shahan Sivajian, whom we supported during the entire patriarchal election campaign, lost the election by a vote of 48 to 46. After the results were finalized, the supporters of Archbishop Mesrop Mutaflan and Archbishop Kazanjian embraced and congratulated each other for their collaboration. [passage omitted]

Biography of 83d Patriarch

The 83d Patriarch of the Armenians of Turkey, Archbishop Karekin Kazanjian was born in Istanbul in 1927. His christening name was Bedros. His parents are Vagharshak and Shoghagat.

He received his elementary education in the Bezazian and Getronagan schools [in Istanbul]. In October 1940, he entered the Zharankavorats School in Jerusalem.

He was ordained as a deacon by the late Patriarch Guregh in 1945. In 1950 he was ordained as a celibate priest by Archbishop Mampre Sirunian, the Armenian prelate of Egypt.

Archbishop Karekin served as the deputy principal of the Zharankavorats School from 1946 to 1949. He taught in Zharankavorats and the Surp Tarkmanchats schools until 1951. He also served as the secretary of the Holy See, the deputy secretary of the General Assembly and a member of the Executive Assembly.

In December 1951, he accepted Patriarch Karekin Khachadurian's invitation and returned to Istanbul to

assume the position of the principal of the planned seminary school. Until the opening of the seminary in January 1954 he taught in the secondary schools of Bezazian and Getronagan and served as a director and teacher of priesthood courses offered by the Patriarchate.

On 24 January 1954 he opened the Surp Khach Seminary officially and was ordained as a supreme archimandrite by the late Patriarch Karekin during Holy Mass the same day. He served as the principal of the Surp Khach Seminary until July of the same year and taught ancient and modern religious literature.

He went to the United States in December 1959 and assumed the position of pastor of the Surp Asdvadzadzin Church in Washington in January 1960.

He was ordained as bishop by the Holy Catholicos on 24 October 1967.

He was later appointed as the prelate of the Armenians of Australia. After serving in that position for many years he was appointed as the archsacrisant of the St. James Order in Jerusalem. [passage omitted]

MARMARA congratulates Archbishop Karekin on his election and wishes His Holiness success in the arduous task that awaits him.

IRAQ

U.S. Psychological War Cannot Intimidate Iraq*JN0510093890 Baghdad INA in English 1115 GMT
4 Oct 90*

[Text] Baghdad, Oct 4, INA—AL-THAWRAH daily of today confirmed that what the United States has undertaken and issued against Iraq represent nothing but sinister acts which disclose the fact that America ridicules the Arabs' feelings, bypasses their rights and legitimate interests and pays no respects for their will or options and that it wants to play the role of the world's policeman to apply its laws of invasion and aggression, and not the laws of the United Nations as it claims. But it expressed confidence that America and its allies would regret their acts, and that they would reap nothing but disgrace and defeat.

The daily further said that though Bush tried to secure a shabby international and legitimate cover for his ill intentions, he could not hide the fact that he was using international legitimacy as a pretext to attain his illegitimate ends and impose Nazi and racial resolutions on the international community. But anyhow, his covers and pretexts could not prevent the world public opinion from realizing the glaring fact that his forces and those of his allies and small agents are in fact occupying the land of Arabs and Muslims' sanctities and that his resolutions are depriving the Iraqi people and children of the food, medicine and milk they need, it added.

It made it clear that Bush administration had practised all forms of pressure, blackmail and overt and covert threats against the member states of the U.N. Security Council in an effort to force them to vote in favour of the resolutions it had prepared.

What's more, the paper added, the United States sought on purpose to take unjust measures against Iraq under cover of legitimacy or unanimity through submitting these measures to the Security Council in the form of draft resolutions that should be endorsed. It found it ironical that after adopting these resolution, Bush arrogantly announced that the whole world was against Iraq, though he knew well that all these resolutions were in fact measures and decisions which America managed to impose on the Council, which had turned, for many reasons, into a docile instrument at the disposal of U.S. imperialism.

It stressed that now that the United States has imposed its domain over the Security Council, we will not surprised with any decision the council makes any more, even if it contradicts human laws and international conventions, and we also could not rule out any (legitimate) or (unanimous) measure against Iraq, including an act of aggression. It wondered what could prevent America from waging a war against Iraq under the U.N. umbrella and under cover of (international legitimacy), or rather, under the American laws of invasion, plunder and exploitation, if it managed to impose a land, sea and

air blockade on Iraq and prevented its children from milk and food under the same pretexts?

AL-THAWRAH went on saying that the U.S. Administration had betted that psychological war and political, economic and military pressure could intimidate Iraq and affect its bold principled stance or that they could shake the supportive attitude of the Arab and Muslim masses who expressed readiness to fight along with the Iraqis against forces of evil and aggression. It attributed the failure of America's bets to Bush's miscalculations and his incapability of understanding and realizing the essence of the Iraqi people and its historic leadership.

U.S. Troops Told To Expect Long War, 'Immense' Losses*JN2910124990 Baghdad Voice of Peace in English
to Saudi Arabia 1230 GMT 28 Oct 90*

[Text] To the American soldiers. Good day. Listen to the voice of truth. Your commanders tried to say before you that if a war should happen, it is going to be a short conflict, a flashing aerial attack of strategic targets inside Iraq and everything ends quickly, and then you go back home as safe and neat and clean as you came. This is nonsense. It is a big lie. They just want to raise your morale. They are buying your silence and the silence of your fathers, mothers, your wives and sons and children.

No my friends. The aerial attack will end nothing. It will occupy no lands. Not even if Bush jets flew and escaped our strong air defenses. Such strike could never occupy a land because there has to be participation of land troops and forces, and there lies the defeat of Bush forces.

Iraq, as you know well, has over one million experienced fighters, thousands of advanced and modern tanks, rockets and missiles of all kinds and species, beside other kinds of full destruction weaponry. Iraq also has over eight million volunteers of Arabs and Muslims that will make the war ever so long that the American losses will be as immense as hell. And eventually, you are the losers, believe me.

We are saying this because we want peace for us and for you. We want life for us and for you. War will not be useful except for a few greedy businessmen in the States and a bunch of corrupt petrol shaykhs and princes in the Arabian Peninsula. Raise your voices asking for peace against the war, and thanks for listening. This came to you from the Voice of Peace in Baghdad.

AL-THAWRAH Rejects U.S. Efforts To Create 'New World'*JN3010115590 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0850 GMT
30 Oct 90*

[Text] Baghdad, 30 Oct (INA)—The newspaper AL-THAWRAH has stressed that the new American scheme aimed at creating a new world in the absence of the Arab nation's rights and role will not pass regardless of threats or military concentrations.

In its editorial today, the paper says that the entire Arab nation, through its awakening and posture, will say no to the imperialist schemes, and will be able to destroy the invasion and all its pillars and tools if the scheme moves from threats to actual aggression.

The paper adds: The crux of the conflict between the Arab nation, which is led by Iraq, and U.S. imperialism, which leads the parties to the enemy alliance, is much deeper than it appears on the surface. It notes President Saddam Husayn's concern, right from the beginning, about giving the conflict its full national, pan-Arab, and humanitarian dimensions, at a time when U.S. imperialism is concerned about giving the conflict false pretexts because it is unable to reveal its objectives due to the fact that they are false and rejected.

The paper says that America has no consideration for any of its agents or for the international law, that the occasions on which Washington has replaced its agents are many, and that the occasions on which the U.S. administrations has trampled the international law and the peoples' wills, rights, and aspirations underfoot are numerous.

The paper explains that Washington targeted Iraq before 2 August through political, economic, and conspiratorial means, and after that through flagrant military means which cannot be concealed, because it has realized that the basic condition for an Arab awakening and effective role lies in the existence of a capable, pioneering pan-Arab leadership.

Concluding, the paper says: It is not a coincidence that the U.S. hostility exposes itself after Iraq has announced its achievements and its growing might. This is because since June 1967, the imperialist U.S. circles have been exerting immense efforts to drive a wedge among Arab ranks through casting doubts on their capabilities and through destroying Arab values by differences, internecine fighting, and attempts to weaken Arab bonds.

KUWAIT

Occupation Compared to Israeli Role in Palestine
PM1610114390 London AL-QABAS AL-DUWALI
in Arabic 10 Oct 90 p 1

[Editorial by Dr. Muhammad al-Rumayhi: "Kuwait Days"—formerly Kuwait AL-QABAS AL-DUWALI]

[Excerpts] This is Kuwait day and Palestine day. This is the day of the victim—murdered, imprisoned, martyred. This is the day of the occupied homeland, the homeless people, and the Arab territory irrigated by its sons' blood.

This is massacre day. In Kuwait there is a massacre every day. In Palestine there is a massacre every day.

This is anger day, curse day, and condemnation day: anger against the occupier, curse on the occupier, and condemnation of the occupier.

The occupier in Palestine is Hebrew, Sharonite, blood-thirsty, and colonialist, claiming historical rights to a land that does not belong to him. He wants it to be a land without a people, thus he is removing them from their homes and encroaching on their lands, honor, and lives, confiscating their livelihood, demolishing their homes, expelling them, and preventing their repatriation.

The occupier in Kuwait is Arab, Saddamite, blood-thirsty, colonialist, and a tyrant. He has invaded the land, encroached on honor, burned and destroyed homes, expelled his kin. He has killed, tortured, and detained...

The Hebrew Sharon is the "Arab" Saddam: The same face and the same marks, regardless of the language and features.

The Palestinian Arab is Hebrew Sharon's victim, whereas Arab Saddam's victims are the Kuwaitis, the Palestinians, and Arabs everywhere. [passage omitted]

Oh Sons of Palestine, our brothers in calamity, predicament, and massacre: Sharon describes you as backward. He wants you to be of a low human level to justify your murder and expulsion. Saddam describes us as having no heritage, civilization, or history to justify our expulsion and our capture.

Oh Palestinian Brothers, Oh Friends in Jerusalem and al-Haram al-Sharif [al-Aqsa Mosque]: The Arab Sharon will not be able to separate us or prevent us from embracing your martyrs, because they are our martyrs, because the enemy is the same and his marks are the same. The liberation of Palestine begins with the liberation of Kuwait, and the downfall of Tel Aviv's Sharon begins with the downfall of Baghdad's Sharon. Then the days, all days, will be Palestine days until liberation.

SAUDI ARABIA

Videotape of Iraqi Atrocities Sold in Stores
91P40023A Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 5 Sep 90 p 18

[Advertisement for the sale of a videotape entitled "The Victims of Saddam Husayn"]

[Text] Now Available in Stores

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INDIA

Singh on Possible Withdrawal of BJP Support

91AS0091A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 13

[Text] On board the IAF [Indian Air Force] Aircraft, 17 Sep (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, today said the Janata Dal is prepared to sit in the opposition if the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] withdrew support to the National Front government at the Centre but clarified that withdrawal of support need not result in mid-term elections.

Ruling out chances of a snap poll at his initiative, he said, "We have no mid-term poll in mind. But in the contingency of the BJP withdrawing its support it is not necessary that it should lead to a mid-term poll. The President may call the single largest party (Congress) to form a government."

Mr Singh was talking to newsmen aboard his aircraft on his way back from Madras.

The Prime Minister was replying to a question whether a mid-term poll was possible if the BJP withdrew its support because of its recent "disenchantment" with the National Front government's performance and on the Ram Janambhoomi issue.

Mr Singh said, "The BJP had said that they are not withdrawing support to the government now. But they don't rule out withdrawal in future. In that case what Atalji (Mr A.B. Vajpayee) has said is right. Certain fluidity has come in the situation."

He said the Janata Dal came to power because the single largest party, Congress did not stake its claim. "The President can now revert back to the Congress, because the second largest party had failed," and call it to form the government and give it some time to prove its majority. "This is a distinct possibility."

Mr Singh said in that case there could be a realignment of forces and a spell of Congress rule with outside support. "And between national parties there could be another mosaic. It can be Congress, the BJP or the communists. Anyone could be heading the government. So it is not necessarily a mid-term poll.

"If Congressmen want to support communists, we can have communists heading the government. We can have Congress-Communists or Congress and the BJP coming together. All options are open. I don't know. If the BJP withdraws support we are prepared to sit in the opposition, because the idea has been floated by the BJP.

"We are always prepared for any eventuality and in politics we have to be. But why should I call for a mid-term poll? The MPs [Members of Parliament] are in no mood," he said.

Mr Singh also reiterated that his government will stand solidly by the court judgment on the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue.

"The government has made its position clear that it stands for an amicable solution of the problem. It will stand solidly by the court judgment and the court order," he added.

Asked if the government would try for a solution before the 30 October deadline set up for construction of the Ram temple, he said, "Certainly we will try."

On the implementation of the Mandal commission recommendations, he said there had been no dilution or departure on the 7 August notification on job reservation for backward classes.

"We are going to stand by the notification of 7 August which is the first phase of the implementation. After this the second phase," he said.

Replying to criticism that the Mandal commission had not taken economic indicators into account while finalising its recommendations, Mr Singh said, "Nobody reads it (the commission report)."

Mr Singh said a decision on holding assembly elections in Punjab will be taken by this week after consulting all parties but added that if they have to be postponed, at least a definite date should be fixed for polls in the next six months.

Admitting his government's failure to hold elections as promised, he said, "One thing I will regret all my life, for which I will not pardon myself and I publicly acknowledge my mistake, is of not holding elections within six months of the National Front government coming to power."

Commentary Reminds PM of Importance of Middle-Class Support

91AS0008C Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
12 Sept 90 p 4

[Commentary by Madhusudan Anand: "Disillusionment of Middle Class"]

[Text] No matter how cowardly, merciless, and selfish we call the Indian middle class, it is a well-accepted fact that, with some exceptions, it has been the middle-class intellectuals who have given direction to social changes in this country. This middle class, which was born during British rule, and its intellectuals, had led the struggle for India's freedom. The builders of modern India are also these middle-class people, even though this class has its share of being persecuted. It was the middle class that catapulted Gandhi, Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Jaya Prakash Narain, Ram Manohar Lohia, and Manvendar Nath Rai to the respected seat of glorious leadership. We cannot say that the middle class can make or destroy leaders; however, we have to admit it is the middle class that

recognizes a leader and approves his capabilities and gives him a place in the sun.

When Vishwanath Pratap Singh decided to go into the wings, seeing the corruption that was destroying the Rajiv government, it was this middle class and its intellectuals that provided him a not-so-smooth platform to power. It also established him as the symbol of political success.

After leaving the Rajiv government, V. P. Singh kept saying for a few days that Rajiv was his leader. He had announced that he was not going to run for election, did not want to become prime minister, and so forth. However, the middle class and its political parties, and their idealistic rallies established him on the respected seat of prime-ministership. Mr. Devi Lal, leader of a farmer's group, an important part of the middle class, crowned V.P. Singh with the turban that he once wore himself. When this very Devi Lal became very ambitious, the middle-class intellectuals forced him out and admitted V.P. Singh.

According to the Marxist thought, the middle class is considered an enemy of the backward classes. However, the middle-class intellectuals are very sympathetic toward the backward classes. The middle-class intellectuals have played a decisive role in all their movements. We do not want the backward peoples in castes; rather, we want to see them in a class. Therefore, we should remember that no matter how flimsy Marxist or Naxalite movements in our country are, it is the middle class that leads those movements. This movement basically is considered for the backwards and persecuted classes. The farmer rebellions that took place between the 1757 Palasi War and the 1857 struggle for freedom (Bareilly, Saharanpur, Delhi, Meerut, Muradabad, etc.) were all fought equally by the farmers, the backward classes, and the middle-class intellectuals.

The whole nation and the challenges are in front of the middle class now. Its intellectuals have risen above their personal interests and looked for the unity of the country. They are also looking at the central government commission and its recommendation in a special framework. It is important to mention here that the people who talk about human rights in the context of the central commission's recommendation are also from the middle class. However, when they demand rights for castes, that is when they become a small minority. It is a known fact that the middle class has a vested interest in the progress of the backward classes.

The question is: Is modern India ready to solve the problems that are embedded in the caste system? These problems have been alleviated some during the last 43 years, but are not finished. Even if we accept this feudal logic that Indian castes are actually a form of class system, still there is a question about the appropriate time for a reservation system for the backward classes. Some intellectuals with a guilty conscience admit that our society has been divided into classes based on castes.

Therefore, it is not wrong to make this classification more prevalent by classifying them thus. They argue, if the high and low caste people are thirsty for each others' blood, then let them be. Let as many caste-based states emerge in India. And there are castes. After all, the whole fault lies with the high-caste people. They keep saying that whenever the backward classes will make progress there will be tension, and our social structure has to bear it. After all, it is imminent.

However, have the leaders of this classification campaign made any progress during the last nine months? They have inherited Punjab, the Ram Janambhumi-Babri Masjid conflict, inflation, and corruption. Each of these problems was aggravated during their rule. They cannot even use an open jeep in Punjab, and now they are promising jobs to 100,000 young men. They are also announcing long marches on foot. Meanwhile, those who demand Khalistan are sowing new seeds for bloodshed. Pretty soon, Ram Janambhumi-Babri Masjid conflicts will come out of the holes of factional prejudice and give a heavy blow to our social structure. However, Mr. V.P. Singh has not found a solution yet.

There are two topics that concern the common man most. Those are corruption and inflation. The Kashmir issue had changed to dangerous proportions during the first few days of V.P. Singh's government. The ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] rebels in Assam are vying with the Khalistan supporters. Tamilnadu is becoming a haven for refuge for the terrorists from Sri Lanka. There is a scary quiet in India because of these raging volcanoes. Meanwhile, V.P. Singh let out another blast between these blasts. The middle-class intellectuals have opposed him. He made this announcement without preparing the country for it, and he is being criticized for it. Because his election only made the caste system stronger, he is being criticized again. The middle-class intellectuals would not have been disappointed with him, even if he had been successful on one campaign. However, since he is trying to change his failure into an imaginary success, the middle-class intellectuals are disappointed in him. V.P. Singh has broken the symbol of middle-class morality with this one action. Students, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and professors are opposed to the reservation system. The press that had made him a hero is now against him. We wonder who is wrong. It would be wrong to say that the press people are being controlled by their stars, because there are people in this press corps who are not controlled by their caste-related stars. They support the backward castes more than the backward castes themselves.

Here we should think about two more things. First, can V.P. Singh still be acceptable to the backward castes after disappointing the middle class? Since only a small percent of middle-class intellectuals support reservations for backward classes based on caste, this question therefore is contextual. However, it is true that historic decisions are criticized and defined by the middle class. We have to admit that the backward classes will also be able to understand the mind of V.P. Singh.

The second question is that if V.P. Singh is acceptable to the backward castes, will he become the messiah of all the backward castes the same way as Dr. Ambedkar had become the messiah of the harijans? We should not forget that despite his work with the harijans, Mr. Gandhi could not become another Ambedkar. At the same time, Dr. Ambedkar could not take the place in India's middle class that Mr. Gandhi had. Mr. V.P. Singh is trying to take a long jump to skip the middle class. He should know there can be some invisible hurdles there. He has won the election, but that would not make him the leader of the backward classes. Had he prepared the country with the support of the middle class to accept the recommendations made by the central commission, then this process of disillusionment would not have been accelerated. The political parties are also polarized toward the central commission's recommendations. Therefore, the disappointment of the middle class is becoming more intense. The political forces that control the middle class will feel helpless.

Advani Interviewed on Singh Government, BJP Role

91AS0109A Cochin *THE WEEK* in English
30 Sep 90 pp 38-40

[Article by R. Balashankar; interview of L.K. Advani; date and place not given; first paragraph is *THE WEEK* introduction; words in italics and quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Rath Yatra of L.K. Advani has made everybody up and take note. He is dead serious about what he says and does. "I take a decision after a lot of deliberation. Once I arrive at it, I do not bother about its consequences," he told *THE WEEK*. In this interview, Advani throws light on his strategy. Excerpts:

[*THE WEEK*] *Is it your realisation that the government is incapable of solving the Ayodhya dispute that forced you to undertake this Rath Yatra?*

[Advani] It was in February that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP], on the personal plea of the Prime Minister, agreed to defer the construction of the temple for four months. I do not know if the government took any step whatsoever in these four months to sort out the problem. Seven months have elapsed since. I am really unhappy that the government has let the matter drift, without doing anything about it. But, there is a lot of activity these days.

My decision is not so much related to the government as the need to project to the people the BJP stand on this issue. We had adopted a comprehensive resolution when the national executive met in Palampur. That resolution referred to the Somnath analogy. How the first government of the free India had decided to reconstruct the temple there. And the President of the country had chosen to participate in the inaugural ceremony when the *jiyotirlinga* was installed. We said that we expected the government to adopt the same positive approach

with regard to Ayodhya. Therefore we thought it would be symbolically apt to have a journey from Somnath to Ayodhya.

[*THE WEEK*] *When Rajiv Gandhi was in power and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] was under attack because of the VHP shilanyas, you did not take it up at the party level. Why now?*

[Advani] No, No. It was the party which decided to adopt the resolution. It was probably the first resolution of its kind... Ever since the date for construction of the temple was announced I have been thinking as to how I can contribute to strengthen the movement. I am contributing like this, by undertaking this Rath Yatra, which would certainly be strenuous for me.

[*THE WEEK*] *You could not persuade the V.P. Singh government to find a solution?*

[Advani] Frankly, I would not like to persuade the government on this. They have a different view altogether about it.

[*THE WEEK*] *Is your decision a counter to the decision on reservations which split your support base on caste lines?*

[Advani] It is absurd. But I do believe that this Rath Yatra, this campaign for Ayodhya will certainly be a unifying factor. Not only for the Hindu society; but I would like it to become the unifying factor for the entire Hindu nation, all communities. I would be happy if the Muslims in this country recognise, acknowledge and respect the strong sentiments of the Hindus and voluntarily offer to participate in the *kar seva*. After all here is a situation, where for 54 years no one has offered *namaz* there. From 1949, for over 40 years now, regular poojas are going on. One should end the dispute on this. Moreover the VHP has offered that, if you are attached to the bricks and mortar, which you call a mosque, we are willing to reverentially shift it to another spot where you can construct another mosque, we would even contribute to its construction. It would be an amicable solution and settlement of the problem.

[*THE WEEK*] *Are you hopeful of such a solution?*

[Advani] I do not know. I have not given up hope. Particularly when all the members of the subcommittee of the NIC [National Integration Council] (on communal harmony), Muslims and Hindus, agreed that a temple has to be built there. But the only point is: should the mosque be pulled down? If you build the temple without pulling down the mosque, we would unanimously endorse it—this is what they said. I said this is a surprising change. I wish you had said this in 1986. This situation would not have arisen. We do not want to pull down the mosque, but reverentially shift it to another place. Let that be worked out.

[*THE WEEK*] *What about the criticism that you are not abiding by the court verdict?*

[Advani] It is misleading to this extent: we have never said we will not abide by the court decision. We have said that the court cannot decide this matter. This is not a matter which can be sorted out by litigation. It can be sorted either by agreement or by government decision. If necessary, by legislation.

[THE WEEK] *What is your reaction to the general feeling that the BJP is in a trap and it is unable to satisfy its constituency?*

[Advani] I am unable to understand why such comments should be made. All that I am saying is that the day we decided to support this government, from outside, we were conscious of the difficult role we were undertaking. After all, this is the government which differs with us on various issues we consider as vital. So it was a decision taken consciously and deliberately. My own feeling is that in the last nine months the BJP has been acquitting itself in this difficult role very creditably. And within the party too at no point of time has there been any kind of dilemma—like should we support this government or should we not or perhaps have we done a wrong thing by supporting this government? Nothing of the kind.

Throughout, there has been an appreciation of the fact that what we did was right. The manner in which we are criticising this government is right. Despite our strident and harsh criticism of this government, there is no reason why we should withdraw support. So there is no dilemma so far as the party is concerned. But it is not an easy role we have taken. Some time ago some Janata Dal leader commented that the present political situation is very beneficial to the BJP. Then also I said that the BJP is in a very tricky role and I would be happier in the opposition.

[THE WEEK] *Do you think this government is more hostile to your policies than the previous one?*

[Advani] I would not say that. I am of the view that on issues relating to nationalism, secularism and communalism, the Congress, the Janata Dal, the communists and the Muslim League are on the same side of the platform. The BJP is on the other side. In most cases the approach is fostered by consideration of pure electoral expediency. In some cases it is a belief in Nehruvian interpretation of secularism. They all take certain position on certain issues because of political expediency. No, I cannot say the Congress was nearer or this government is farther.

[THE WEEK] *You have said that while it took two and a half years for the public to get disenchanted with the previous government, this one has discredited itself in nine months. How do you explain it?*

[Advani] This is the hard reality. I had to say it. It is disappointing. I said this is the thing and the ruling party should ponder this.

[THE WEEK] *Do you think it is the failure of the leadership of V.P. Singh?*

[Advani] It is the failure of the government and so the failure of the leadership. I try not to be personal to the extent possible. But this is the hard reality.

[THE WEEK] *There is talk that the Janata Dal is looking for another leader. Did anybody contact you for BJP support?*

[Advani] No. We made it clear in the outset itself that we would not like to get involved in the internal matters of the Janata Dal.

[THE WEEK] *The Prime Minister has said if BJP withdrew support he would sit in the opposition.*

[Advani] I have no comments on that. All that I can say is that very many colleagues of the Prime Minister, in fact very senior ministers, took strong exception to this and particularly rebuked him and expressed disgust over this.

[THE WEEK] *Mulayam Singh Yadav has been issuing threats against your programmes and asking people not to go to Ayodhya for the traditional parikrama in October. What is your reaction?*

[Advani] It shows his desperation. It has never happened before that you advise people not to go to a regular fair or a congregation of this kind. In fact I am of the view that the Muslims in the country today have reconciled themselves to allowing the temple to be constructed. It is the pseudo-secularists like Mulayam Singh who are trying to incite them for a confrontation. His statements are irresponsible, provocative and I had an occasion to point it out to the Prime Minister, who said 'what he is saying is not right, I'll try to restrain him.'

[THE WEEK] *But the impression is that the Prime Minister is not willing to change and is favouring a kind of take-it-or-leave-it attitude.*

[Advani] I do not think so. First he announced the Mandal Commission saying it is in his manifesto. And immediately thereafter one by one they withdrew, saying it is not applicable to the educational institutions, will not be imposed on states, not applicable for promotions, etc. In fact, I have a feeling that the government wants the Supreme Court to stay the whole thing. One by one, the decisions have been made that do not indicate any confidence on the part of the government. On so many issues, take Punjab, the government does not seem to be sure of itself. So to say that it is an attitude of take-it-or-leave-it is just not fair.

[THE WEEK] *The impression V.P. Singh gives is that he would take the BJP support on his terms.*

[Advani] I don't believe it. Supporting the government from outside has its own difficulties. My role becomes more difficult.

[THE WEEK] *Chandra Shekhar has said that this government has lost its relevance after V.P. Singh talked about his readiness to sit in the opposition.*

[Advani] Statements like these add to the uncertainty and paralyse the administration. When a powerful party like the BJP and its leader A.B. Vajpayee says there is uncertainty, that by itself creates uncertainty. And after that Singh goes on saying that he is willing to sit in the opposition and that Congress would come to power with the support of the CPI [Communist Party of India], CPI(m) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] or the BJP—all sorts of permutations and combinations—can you think of another statement that can create as much uncertainty? Compare this with the first crisis of the National Front government and Prime Minister's offer to resign. These are acts of a leader of a government which do not indicate confidence. This take-it-or-leave-it approach destroys credibility. This casual approach to what statements of these kind can mean to the government, and to its stability.

[THE WEEK] *Did you at any time expect V.P. Singh to act differently?*

[Advani] Well, let us not go into it.

[THE WEEK] *There are reports of Janata Dal looking up for a new leader. Are you aware of any such moves?*

[Advani] I have been hearing about it. I have been reading about it. But I do not know anything about it.

[THE WEEK] *What are the areas of distress and disappointment as far as the NF [National Front] government performance is concerned?*

[Advani] Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, price rise, Ayodhya and overall concept of governance.

[THE WEEK] *Then what is the point in keeping it alive?*

[Advani] What is the point in changing the government and bringing back the old government which has already failed? To inflict an election on a country as large as ours is unfair, cruel and I am not going to invite an election purely from my party's point of view. Four months ago some people were telling me, if an election is held, my party would be the largest winner. But we are not in favour of it. Let it happen if it happens because of the problems within the ruling party.

[THE WEEK] *You are having regular dinner meeting with the Prime Minister. What do you discuss there? Don't you discuss the failings of the government and areas of disagreement?*

[Advani] Well, what is there to say about it?

[THE WEEK] *These days Chandra Shekhar seems to be particularly affectionate to the BJP leaders.*

[Advani] Well, he says the right thing. I appreciate it and I thank him for it.

[THE WEEK] *Was there any move from Devi Lal to patch up with you?*

[Advani] He met me only once, in connection with his son's election to the Rajya Sabha. He has had some telephonic conversation with some of my colleagues.

[THE WEEK] *What was it about?*

[Advani] Nothing much, except criticising the manner in which the present minority government is functioning.

[THE WEEK] *If the Janata Dal finds a new leader, will you support him?*

[Advani] As I said, we do not want to get involved in the internal matters of the Janata Dal.

[THE WEEK] *Are you indifferent to it?*

[Advani] Yes

[THE WEEK] *There were reports that the Congress approached you for some joint action plan against the Mandal Commission.*

[Advani] It was not an action plan. They proposed that we have some kind of a resolution. I said I am willing to consider. I also told them to talk to the CPI(M). They never came back to me after that. I also had some talk with the CPI(M). They were also not happy with the announcement. But we left it there.

[THE WEEK] *What will be the message of your Rath Yatra?*

[Advani] My message is, reverence to Rama can be a powerful unifying factor for the whole country.

Commentary Alerts Center to Karunanidhi's True Intentions

91P40021A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
7 Sept 90 p 6

[Commentary by Keval Ratan Malkani: "The Dangers of Karunanidhi's Politics"]

[Excerpts] Just recently Karunanidhi had created an uproar in the press that the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was bent upon taking his life. This was very surprising to me. Thus when I arrived at Madras in connection with the sessions of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Working Group, I thoroughly investigated the Karunanidhi session and its tasks. I was stunned. Now I am able to understand why 20 months ago the Tamils were not really pleased at the victory of the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] on the basis of only 33 percent differential vote in comparison with the other national opposition parties. They had come to know so much about Karunanidhi and his DMK that they could not become very excited.

Much news of Tamilnadu does not reach Delhi because of Madras' distance, whereas even a small incidence in neighboring Haryana causes a commotion. The situation

in Tamilnadu is so bad, however, that if the Center does not become alert to it, then it too will probably follow in the footsteps of the Punjab.

The root of DMK's mischief lies in the Dravida Kazhagam whose anti-north Indian and anti-Brahmin activities had been encouraged by the English. Even though Annadurai and M.G. Ramachandran were also products of the Dravida Kazhagam, they had not been as irresponsible as Karunanidhi is. This is the reason also for the opposition leader Jayalalitha's sari being pulled and blouse being torn by DMK members at the opening session of the Vidhan Sabha [State Assembly] last year. Demoniac politics was dominating here. Karunanidhi is not just the hater of north Indians, Hindi or the Brahmins, but he is also a Hindu-hater, Muslim-supporter, and a supporter of the Sri Lankan rebels. His close associates say that the national tricolor [India's national flag] is at best fit only to be used as his loin-cloth. At present in Madras, Hindi or Sanskrit may not be learned in government or government-supported schools, unless there are at least 30 enrollees, but Arabic may be. It is even taught as a classical language. To honor Ravana, "Ravan Kavya" [poetry] is taught.

This anti-Hindu government controls Hindu temples, but mosques and churches are free from control. The DMK people have erected a cement column in front of Kanchimath [a Hindu religious establishment]. The column has this inscription on it: "There is no God. Whoever believes in God is a fool." Karunanidhi himself has questioned the offering of the diamond nose-ring to Madurai Meenakshi (Deity). He has also said that he eagerly awaits the day when Chidambaram's Nataraja (Deity) and Sri Ranganatha's Ranganatha (Deity) are torn to pieces by cannon balls.

The cancer of DMK has spread even to Madras Doordarshan. [passage omitted] A certain Doordarshan commentator, speaking on "self-determination" in a conference in Madras said that soon the Ashok Chakra [Wheel of Righteousness in the Indian flag], will burn in the flames like that of Azerbaijan and an independent Tamilnadu will be born.

Karunanidhi hates Hindus as he supports Muslims who are less than five percent of the region's population. DMK has always allied itself with the Muslim League. The treasurer for DMK is a muslim named Sadiq Pasha. The police never launch an attack on the two Kilometer long smugglers' heaven "Burma Bazaar" [a Muslim locality].

Karunanidhi welcomed the religious conversion of Harijans to Islam in 1981 at Meenakshipuram. He supported the fanatics in the Shahbano case. He laughs at the Hindu fasting ritual of "ekadashi" as blind faith whereas finds it fit to praise "roza" [the Muslim fast]. He felicitates Muslims on Id and Christians on the Great day, but he has no words for the Hindus on Pongal, Dashahra, or Diwali. He believes that the Muslims were always masters and Hindus the beggars. He has allowed

a small mosque to be built near the Kanchi Peeth (Kanchi Elder's religious abode), so that the serenity of the math (religious establishment) could be ruffled by the loudspeaker. Encouraged by all of this, Palani Baba, a DMK worker, has founded a "Jihad Peravai (Morchha)" [Holy war Battlefront]. Some excerpts from his speech are given below:

"Even though I am a Muslim, I am a DMK volunteer. After Allah, I revere Karunanidhi."

"India is not one country. This is a union of many nations. Jinnah separated one fourth of it into a nation called Pakistan. We must procure modern weapons from Pakistan and disintegrate the rest of the country." (quoted from 5 July 1990 DINAMALAR). [passage omitted]

Even though DMK has given up formal demands of a sovereign Tamilnadu, its friends in Dravida Kazhagam are still holding on to those ideas. There was a demand for self determination in a recent conference. Another Tamil National Self-determination Conference was held in Tanjore in May. [Sikh leader] Simranjit Singh [Mann] was also invited to that. It could be aborted only after a warning telegram from the BJP leadership to the president and the prime minister.

Karunanidhi's latest game is the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam]. Initially the mistakes were made here by Rajiv and Indira Gandhi. They should have put pressure to gain justice for the Tamil emigrants of Sri Lanka. Instead, they supplied the Sri Lankan Tamils with arms, and trained them to rise against their government. Thousands were killed because of this. Now these rebels have taken the form of LTTE and are proving to be a Bhasmasur [Indian mythological demon who started to turn against the very gods who gave him the boon of immortality]. As the Indian Peace Keeping Force tried to control the situation, LTTE turned against them, and Karunanidhi supported the LTTE instead of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. The facts behind this behavior of Karunanidhi are complex. One faction of DMK supports LTTE and he has to be mindful of this reality, especially when he is nursing aspirations for his son to be accepted as his successor by the DMK. This LTTE supporting faction is also opposed to his support of muslims. Karunanidhi could also be apprehensive of LTTE assassins. LTTE doesn't just have guns, it also has coffers filled with money earned through smuggling operations.

All this necessitates Karunanidhi to keep supporting LTTE. [passage omitted]

He is displeased with the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh in the matter of not being able to change the name of Dindukkal district to Quaid-e-Millat Zila. The reason for his displeasure with BJP is that its deputy chairman, Jan Krishnamurthy, exposed the "illicit alliance between a powerful faction of DMK, LTTE, and the Muslim League." [passage omitted]

Karunanidhi has prohibited Hindu demonstrations, but when Muslims attack Hindus he becomes silent. Only recently, Hindu properties worth 90 lakh rupees were destroyed in Nagore. Sangh's chief instructor, Mr. Nagarjun, was stabbed to death. Yet, Karunanidhi claims that the Sangh (RSS) is after his life. His madness has a purpose behind it: Should LTTE assassinate him, his men would blame the Sangh. This reminds one of the story about the thief who ran shouting "thief, thief" to escape capture. Even the Calcutta DAILY TELEGRAPH, which never lets go an opportunity to criticize the Sangh, has called this charge an absurdity. The popular Tamil weekly KUMUDAM has challenged Karunanidhi to either prove his claim or to take it back.

Karunanidhi's words and actions should not be taken lightly. The Center should watch him closely, and advise him to change his course of action. Otherwise, Tamilnadu could become another Punjab in keeping with the predictions of the Sangh's Tamilnadu head, V. Rangaswamy.

Kashmir Governor Says Militants Still a Threat

91AS0090 Madras THE HINDU in English
22 Sep 90 p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Srinagar, 21 Sep—The Governor of Jammu and Kashmir Mr G.C. Saxena has said that though militants retained their capability to strike and were not to be under estimated his administration's assessment was that they did not have the capability 'to change the situation materially on the ground.' Speaking to a group of mediapersons in Raj Bhavan, Mr Saxena provided a realistic sketch of the situation in the Valley.

However he admitted "we are not really over the hump and cannot say as yet that the militants are on the run." Estimates are that an estimated 2,500 militants were in the Valley and another 4,000 to 5,000 waiting to get in from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. They posed a substantial threat considering the estimates of the large amount of weapons and explosives remaining undetected. He said it was not possible to give a timeframe for the resolution of the Kashmir problem at this juncture since the situation was not as yet "frozen."

There were far too many variables to predict the future at this juncture and any realistic estimate depended on how many people could get across the border, and what the Pakistanis would do about the Indian crackdown that had slowed infiltration to a trickle. If the situation was frozen, he said it could have taken just another two to three months for the creation of conditions that could have led to the resumption of political processes.

Pak Intelligence at Work

Mr Saxena emphasised that there were no real doubts about the involvement of the Pakistani Inter-Services

Intelligence in the Valley. They had in intelligence parlance, 'motivators' in the Valley who had sent thousands across to the POK [Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir] camps to get training and return. Some of them were sent to camps in Afghanistan to maintain the fiction that there was no Pakistani involvement.

Would Pakistan now raise the ante and step up its support? Mr Saxena's blunt response was 'one side can always decide to raise the ante but then they are taking unpredictable risks... We will tailor our responses accordingly and there is nothing that they can throw at us to which we will not find an answer.' Then somewhat ominously he went on to add, 'maybe some of the answers may not be found in Srinagar but in New Delhi.'

He said that the J&K [Jammu and Kashmir] Government was implementing a policy decision to compensate those innocents who lost their lives in cross-fire between security forces and militants. Further it was attempting to convey to the people that in the fight against terrorists people could get hurt or killed accidentally but the target was the hardcore militant. Cases of excesses were being inquired into and action taken where necessary.

A Terrorist Tactic

He admitted that there had been instances of rape and molestation but he cautioned against taking many of the charges too literally since adding complaints of human rights violations and excesses was part of a well-drilled tactic of the terrorists.

Even while shouldering the responsibility of preserving law and order and protecting innocents, Mr Saxena wanted the media to note the 'misdeeds' of the terrorists as well. 'They have killed people with great cruelty,' he said, 'gouging their eyes, tying explosives to their body and exploding them in public places. They have also killed a couple of hundred people branding them as informers.'

The Government's tough line on keeping control of the security forces enunciated by Mr Saxena was implemented promptly yesterday when action was taken to begin an enquiry against a BSF [Border Security Force] group for alleged excesses in an operation in Chikkipura in Sopur area. Mr Saxena's belief that such action will yield results in terms of winning the hearts and minds of the people was also vindicated in the capture of 'General' Nur Khan, the military adviser to the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front]. He is considered to be a big catch.

Editorial Condemns Election-Time Utopian 'Freebies'

91P40022A Madras DINAMANI in Tamil 4 Oct 90 p 6

[Editorial: "Free Rice Plan Cancelled"]

[Text] The year-old free rice plan promulgated in Tamilnadu has been cancelled starting the first of this month.

As a compensatory measure, the government has decided to allow a 25-paise per kilo discount to those purchasing the thinnest low-quality rice in fair-price shops. There is no change with regard to the heavier variety. It has been announced that this 25-paise reduction is unneeded and not asked for, and will cost the government 40 crore rupees annually.

Announcing utopian free-deals as part of electioneering, carrying them out in the most unsatisfactory manner, and in the end giving them up abruptly has become a routine for the various political parties. It is regrettable that even though the economic condition of the state is well-known to the opposition, such impractical measures, timed to influence the election outcome, are announced. The National Front government's offer of excusing 10,000 rupees in farmers' debts is another example of this.

As the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] government took office it was announced that for those with earnings of 300 rupees or less [per month], five kilos of free rice would be given five times a year. Later this was reduced to thrice a year and the salary ceiling raised to 1,000 rupees. There were many complaints of widespread corruption and many other irregularities in the execution of this plan. In the end the government realized the situation and gave up the plan.

The political parties must give up offering free deals that result in rendering the people lazy. Instead, the government must be keen in properly distributing the things in the fair-price shops, and making certain that there is weight and quality control.

Karwar Naval Base To Be Completed By 1992-1993

91AS0093A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
17 Sep 90 p 4

[Text] Madras, 16 Sep—Vice Admiral Ravi Prakash Sawhney, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Naval Command, visualises the naval base coming up at Karwar in Karnataka to be the most modern one in the country.

Talking to a group of pressmen from Madras at Coimbatore, on Friday, the Vice-Admiral said that the first phase of the base was likely to be completed by 1992-93 when there would be facilities to operate a few ships. The process of developing the base might go on for decades, he said.

He said the problems arising out of the displacement of locals in the area had been sorted out. Plans had been drawn up to build a satellite township for the benefit of people whose lands had been acquired.

The Vice Admiral said there was also a plan to have a small naval base along the Ramanathapuram coastline in Tamil Nadu for operating facilities for small craft and patrolling work. Answering a question as to what stood

in the way of establishing a maritime boundary between India and Sri Lanka to avoid recurring clashes between the fishermen of the two countries, he said in some areas there seemed to be some disputes. The boundary line could be demarcated once the disputes were solved. "I think discussions are on between the two countries in this respect," he said.

The Vice Admiral said that work on the Naval Academy coming up at Ezhumalai in Kerala had slowed down due to paucity of funds. Environmentally the location of the project was an ideal one. The Navy was keen on improving the environment.

He said soon after his retirement by the end of this month, he would be taking over the Chairmanship of the Jawahar Port Trust in Bombay.

Education: Ramamurthy Committee Recommendations Viewed

91AS0008B Bombay *NAV BHARAT TIMES* in Hindi
12 Sep 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Dreamy Eyes and Education"]

[Text] Almost all of the governments formed after the independence have expressed their concern about the influence of the Macaulay system on Indian education; however, none of these governments took any concrete steps to eradicate Macaulayism. This does not mean that the Indian system of education is still where it was when the British left India. A lot has changed since then, however, just like Hindu social structure it moved toward the old as much as it changed to new. The National Education Policy Committee, formed by the National Front government, and the 1986 review committee have issued some reports for public reaction. These reports are revolutionary in nature. The problem is that most revolutionaries have a dream for an ideal society, but lack a ladder to reach their dream world. This revolutionary document does not suggest how to make education a people's movement.

The chairman of the review committee is Acharya Ramamurthy and it was feared that because of his long-term Gandhi worshipping background he might present a national reincarnation of the Wardha school. We are glad that he has given importance to competition in industry, Indianization of technology, science, technology, and research in educational policy. It is a fact that every educational policy is basically a part of the social, cultural, and economic policies. When presenting the outline of the proposed educational policy, not only does this report explain the present developments in education, but it also honestly tries to reach those ideals that made the election manifesto of the Rashtriya Morcha [National Front] government glorious. However, when the National Front government itself began to ignore its goals and formed an industrial policy that depends on the unlimited import of foreign capital and technology instead of starting an accelerated industrialization of our nation, and the prime minister is busy

celebrating the 10th anniversary of farmers instead of encouraging small, medium, and large scale industrialists, then we have to say that one foot of the government is going toward the east and the other toward the west. In such a situation, even when a good educational policy is formed after deep thought and analysis, it will not be implemented.

The Ramamurthy Committee made five major recommendations:

1. Education should be a popular movement led by teachers instead of a government department.

2. A plan should be formed for equal educational opportunities for everyone within the next 10 years. In other words, schools for the rich must be eliminated by arbitration or by making new laws.

3. Vocational education must be equally emphasized along with academics at the secondary level.

4. Education must be decentralized, be versatile, and meet the local social and institutional needs. For example, if there is a fair on a Tuesday in a village, then the school there should be closed on Tuesday and not on Sunday. If the students can study only in the mornings and evenings, then the school should meet in the morning and evening, and not from 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM.

5. An academic degree should not be tied to a job, and the tradition of annual examinations must be eliminated. A student should be evaluated individually and should be allowed to leave or enter school or college at any level. Just like an examination for a job, there should be separate admission examinations to any level.

These recommendations are the same as those made by other commissions in the past: Spend more money on education and make education within everyone's reach. India is 115th in the world in the percent of the gross national product spent on education. Education gets even more attention in the Bangladeshi budget. The Ramamurthy Commission wants us to spend at least six percent of our gross national product on education. The commission has proposed to include the right to education along with the right to work in the basic rights.

There are other minor recommendations such as changes in adult education and giving importance to elementary education over secondary and higher education. The main problem is who will lead this major change in the educational system as recommended by the Ramamurthy Commission. Where will we find teachers who will not only prepare the curriculum and teach, but who will also regularly evaluate their students. They will have to teach history, geography, economics, as well as handicrafts and computers. They must find time for adult education after their regular school hours and organize local efforts to run the schools. Our government's education department is not able to start this revolution. This report does not expect the education department to

be involved in it, either. Instead, it recommends getting the schools out from under the education department's tyranny. Who then will administer the whole program? Do we have the appropriate local leadership for it? The Ramamurthy Commission's recommendation to make the Panhayats [village councils] and the local municipal committees the major administrators of educational programs is worth considering. However, these organizations will take initiatives in this direction only when their areas flourish with industry and development. Who will remove the blocks in the path of development?

It is surprising that the Ramamurthy Commission is quiet about the issue of English. It does recommend regional and national languages at the school level. What after that? Which language will be used for technological education? Which language will be used in research? Perhaps, the Ramamurthy Commission wanted to leave the most controversial question in this country alone. We should also leave this hot potato alone. If there is a comprehensive and revolutionary plan, then this problem can be solved by itself. Perhaps, the answer to the riddle of educational medium is hidden in the decentralization of education!

IRAN

Lack of Fuel Reported in Sistan va Baluchestan

91AS0083U London KEYHAN in Persian 18 Oct 90 p 4

[Text] Due to the shortage of fuel, especially kerosene, the people of the Province of Sistan va Baluchestan must bathe in cold water seven or eight months out of the year. The lack of kerosene has also meant that teachers sent to rural areas to teach this academic year had to pay 200 to 250 tomans per liter for kerosene bought on the free market. The Islamic Republic newspaper RESALAT reports that the shortage and sometimes the lack of fuel in the Province of Sistan va Baluchestan has caused many problems for rural farmers and growers. This summer, because of the lack of gasoil, irrevocable damage has been done to these people. The newspaper added: So far the rural people in this area have not been able to procure the gasoil for fall plowing, and it is feared that with the situation this year, they will not be able to do the fall plowing in time.

Public To Bear Cost of Education

91AS0083M London KEYHAN in Persian
18 Oct 90 p 2

[Text] Najafi, the Islamic Republic regime's minister of education and training, announced in a television interview that the government has prepared a legal article, and if it is approved by the Majles, as of next year families will have to pay for school expenses on the basis of income.

Yet according to the regime's Constitution, the government must provide free education to everyone in the

country until the end of middle school, and to expand the means of free higher education to the extent of the nation's self-sufficiency.

If the regime, in violation of its Constitution, forces the people to pay tuition, in view of the dire poverty of a large part of the population, tens of thousands will be added to the children who are already deprived of the blessing of study.

The regime's minister of education and training expressed the hope that by the end of the regime's first five-year plan, there will be a decrease in the number of schools operating in three and four shifts.

PAKISTAN

Interim Government's Record on Corruption Discussed

91AS0082D Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
27 Sep 90 p 18

[Text] The assemblies were dissolved and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government was dismissed on charges of corruption and failure to establish law and order in Sindh. What is the performance in this regard of the Care-takers to whom the unconditional support of the security forces is available?

First corruption. Only a day after Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was sworn in as Care-taker Prime Minister, his son was seen roaming about in the corridors of the NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation] and being received by the top boss of the financial institution.

Sweet Reward

Within a month of assuming office, Mr Jatoi has become the sponsor of a sugar mill and his brother the sponsor of a textile mill. The two projects together will require about half a billion rupees [Rs] in credit which is reported to have already been made available or promised. Long live accountability, say the people.

Coming to the issue of law and order, during the 45 days (up to 22 September) of the Presidential nominees' rule, over 60 persons have been killed by snipers in Karachi and Hyderabad, 25 prominent persons have been kidnapped for ransom, over 500 cars and 400 motorcycles have been snatched at gunpoint or stolen in Karachi alone. A number of party leaders, including a PPP candidate for the National Assembly, have been murdered in the province. There are dozens others, unknown, who have been kidnapped or killed in the interior.

The kidnappees include the State Bank Governor's son and head of the Computer Division of Habib Bank, Mr Hamid Hanafi. The latter was kidnapped at 8 a.m. from a crowded place in North Nazimabad when he was going to his office with his father in an official car. The car was stopped, the father and the driver were pushed out and

five gunmen drove away with young Hanafi in the car, after advising the elder Hanafi to arrange for ransom. The staff of the State Bank and Habib Bank observed a day's strike on 17 September and two-hour token strikes on the subsequent two days. They have threatened to observe a country-wide strike if Mr Hamid Hanafi is not soon recovered.

Another person kidnapped was former President of the Karachi Stock Exchange Bashir Jan Mohammad, who came back home after two weeks, tight-lipped. But rumours have it that a ransom of Rs 5 million has been paid, and the release of some criminals was also secured. If true, this will set a unique precedent. A few other kidnapees have also returned.

All are refusing to speak, but all are reported to have paid handsome amounts in ransom.

Balochistan: Proliferous Election Activity Viewed

91AS0082F Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
27 Sep 90 p 19

[Article by Amanullah]

[Text] A total of 668 candidates including independents have filed nomination papers for the 43-seat Balochistan Assembly.

The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Balochistan President, Sardar Fateh Muhammad Hasni, complained last week that the Dera Bugti administration did not allow Muhammad Nawaz and Ali Bakhsh, proposer and second, respectively, of Ghulam Qadir Bugti to file nomination papers for PB-19 (Province Belochiston) (Dera Bugti) from where former Chief Minister Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti was contesting. Sardar Hasni alleged that Muhammad Nawaz and Ali Bakhsh were arrested by the Dera Bugti Levies on 12 September.

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that Sardar Hasni's allegations were published by the papers, the Dera Bugti administration did not contradict them. Therefore, observers claim that a wrong had been committed. Sardar Hasni was of the view that Nawab Bugti, chief of the Jamhoori Watan Party, wanted to be returned unopposed.

The JUI (Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam) and PPP candidates filed nomination papers for more than 30 seats whereas the IJI (Islam Jamhoori Ittehad [P]), the JWP (Jamhoori Watan Party), the PNP (Pakistan National Party) and BNM (Balochiston National Movement) are contesting for between 24 and 28 seats but the PMAP (Pakhtoon Khwa Milli Awami Party) and the ANP (Awami National Party [P]) are contesting on 14 and the QIP (Qaumi Inquilab Party) are contesting Pushtoon seats. The BNM has awarded tickets only to Baloch candidates whereas the JUI, the IJI, the JWP, the PPP and the PNP have given tickets to both ethnic groups in the province.

Mir Manzoor Ahmed Gichki, former MNA [member of National Assembly] and an important leader of the Balochistan National Movement from the Mekran area, has resigned from the Movement, alleging that Sardar Ataullah Khan Mengal, the self-exiled Baloch leader now living in London, is a big hurdle in forging unity among Baloch nationalist forces. Mir Gichki is not only a founder member of the BNM but also of the Baloch Students Organisation. He was elected MNA on the BNA (Balochistan National Assembly) ticket in 1988.

Differences between Mir Gichki and the BNM leadership arose during the no-confidence motion against former Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto when Mir Gichki voted against the Prime Minister. The BNM leadership suspended his membership for three months for violating party discipline. It may be recalled that in the past, Mir Gichki has always complained that Sardar Ataullah Mengal is unnecessarily interfering in BNM affairs from London through his son, Mir Akhtar Mengal, Senior Vice-Chairman of the party.

Lahore: IJI Defeat Only If 'High Turnout of Real Voters'

91AS0113C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
11 Oct 90 pp 9-10

[Text] Who will win Lahore—the People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] or the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]? It was too early to tell on Monday when these reports were written. But an assessment of Lahore's nine National Assembly [NA] and 18 provincial seats provides some indication of which way the wind is blowing. Tentative forecasts are made by VIEWPOINT staff (and also shown on the title) on the basis of the situation that prevailed at the beginning of the week.

Both sides have prestige and much else at stake. The IJI was throwing all its resources into the fight, including large doses of development money graciously placed at the disposal of the Alliance candidates by the Care-taker Government of the Punjab. Such electoral misuse of funds is not unknown, but the difference this time is that IJI candidates do not feel any need to hide the fact that they can build roads or pave streets through public money to gain votes. Many key figures from both sides are standing from the city, including Mian Nawaz Sharif, Mr. Asghar Khan, ex-Federal Ministers Aitzaz Ahsan and Tariq Rahim, Sheikh Rashid, and Mr. Shehbaz Sharif, making his first bid for the National Assembly.

In 1988, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] had won six NA seats from the city, losing one in a bye-election. This time the Pakistan Awami Tehrik is a new factor in some areas.

Slowly, but surely, the election campaign in Lahore picked up last week. Door-to-door campaigning, promises, processions, public meetings, corner meetings, Press statements, electoral alignments, factional realignments, streamers, banners, hoardings—all the various means used to mobilise the electorate came into play. Because

of the huge development funds put at the disposal of the IJI candidates, some development work like the construction of roads also started. As in all other major cities, corruption, the President's role and the conduct of the Care-takers came under discussion.

However, with the legal cases initiated against and by the People's Party and the determination of the IJI to keep the PPP out of power, confusion still reigns supreme. After the dismissal of the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies and after getting Care-taker Governments formed of its own choice, the IJI felt that it had doubly secured its victory, but it now seems to be worried because of the popular response that the PDA candidates have received, particularly after the failure of the grand one-to-one formula.

In none of the nine National Assembly constituencies and 18 provincial constituencies in Lahore has the objective of a straight fight come true, whereas the PDA has resolved its differences and fielded consensus candidates. The PPP had some internal differences on one or two major seats but these have been sorted out. However, there are two candidates from among disgruntled PPP workers who are being supported by the disgruntled Dr. Mubashir Hassan and the so-called Struggle Group in the PPP which believes that the differences between Lenin and Trotsky are relevant to present Pakistani politics.

On Different Grounds

Dr. Mubashir Hasan contests Benazir Bhutto's credibility on different grounds. He does not seem to have abandoned his desire that Benazir Bhutto should come to him to seek his help. In a show of strength, he convened a meeting last week at his home to discuss the need for a new "non-corrupt" political party. Everyone agreed on the need for a new party but few considered it to be the right time for that. Some of the participants were not even sure if the people would accept them as their leaders. However, it is being said that Dr. Mubashir Hasan plans to launch his planned party before the end of this year, possibly on November 25.

As the constituency-wise report that follows reveals, despite the multiplicity of contestants—7:1 is the candidate constituency ratio—each seat is going to be hotly contested mainly between the IJI and the PPP candidates.

According to estimates made on the basis of past party performance and readjustments of national and provincial seats and also because of the split in the opposition, People's Party circles claim to be sure of seven seats and predict a tough fight on the other two. The IJI claims eight sure seats and reluctantly concedes NA 100 to the PPP. Some liberal observers, using the same indicators, concede four sure wins to the PPP, two to the IJI and expect a neck-and-neck contest in the three remaining constituencies. All these guestimates are made barring the use of administrative machinery in support of IJI candidates.

Corner Meetings

Corner meetings are being held all over the city. On the average candidates from major parties address four to five meetings a day. The electorate is not as non-responsive as predicted earlier by some analysts. The IJI candidates and their guest speakers attack the People's Party on lines similar to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dissolution speech. But they transgress all limits of decency while talking about Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto. Now the emphasis, apart from the usual male chauvinistic puns, is on castigating them as non-Muslims. Even Mian Nawaz Sharif has been telling the "details" of his meetings with Benazir Bhutto in double entendres. Some of the speakers tend to prove how sinful it is to say anything about the President except in praise. The IJI gatherings generally seem to be dull, and the crowd is mostly unenthusiastic.

The People's Party workers are much more enthused. The slogan about Benazir's innocence almost becomes a chorus when they chant it non-stop. The candidates and speakers remind the crowd of all they think the People's Party did for the well-being of the people. They hold the IJI responsible for all the corruption in civil and political life and for unashamedly claiming to be a continuation of Gen. Zia's politics. Almost all of them condemn the President's August 6 action.

The campaign is apparently becoming centred around defending or condemning the President's act. Nevertheless, it has made it possible to focus public attention on serious issues, such as the unlimited powers granted to the President under the Eighth amendment.

The enthusiastic response of PPP workers and the electorate to PDA candidate Asghar Khan and increasing pressure on Mian Nawaz Sharif's capacity to bestow favours has made many believe that the result in NA-95 will be different from 1988. The electorate in pro-Nawaz Sharif pockets in the constituency has put up banners making votes conditional on the fulfilment of public demands. Some are not satisfied with the allotment of just one plot.

While Mian Nawaz Sharif has been busy in making arrangements to ensure the top position for himself, Asghar Khan has made extensive visits to the constituency, warning people of the possibility of rigging and assuring them that there is no power bigger than the masses. The PDA, he says, will win with their support and they must make sure that they have a strong national government. He has visited even those streets and bazaars which the previous opponents of the IJI had avoided.

The campaign has been peaceful so far. What will follow can't be predicted. The IJI has made all its administrative arrangements, strong-arm tactics—MSF [the Student Union in Pakistan] students displayed their strength the other day by firing in the air with sophisticated weapons in Lakshmi Chowk for an hour or so—bogus votes and I.D. cards—everything is ready for the

election. The electoral results will depend on the PDA's capacity to meet these challenges. They will have to take preemptive measures and train their workers to be vigilant and most of all mobilise the voters. Their victory depends on a high turnout of the real voters.

Jatoi Condemned for Interfering in UN Honoring Benazir

91AS0113D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
11 Oct 90 p 22

[Text] Political observers in Karachi, in fact all over Sindh, are extremely shocked to learn that the Care-takers have stooped so low as to ask the United Nations to withdraw the award to Benazir Bhutto which the world organisation had earlier decided to confer on her.

Benazir Bhutto was included among the "four great women" of today's world along with Margaret Thatcher, Corazon Aquino and Gro Harlem Brundtland (former Prime Minister of Norway). The UN Secretary-General gave away these awards on October 1. For PTV and Radio Pakistan, the event did not happen.

To acknowledge the services of these four great women to the uplift of womenfolk, the Nobel Foundation had decided to honour them with an award which also carried a cash prize of \$250,000 (Rs. [rupees] 5 million) each. Benazir Bhutto has donated the amount to an international organization devoted to the uplift of women throughout the world.

Government Influence

Instead of being proud that a daughter of Pakistan has been so honoured—an international honour no Pakistani except Dr Abdus Salam (whom also we have largely disowned) has so far achieved—the Care-taker Prime Minister reportedly used Pakistan's diplomatic resources to get the award withdrawn. Failing to do so, he used Government influence to prevent Nusrat Bhutto from receiving the award on behalf of her daughter.

Observers feel that what the Care-takers have done Pakistan's worst enemies would not have dared to do. This is taking anti-Benazir Bhutto hatred beyond all civilised limits.

Quetta: Factional Tendencies Within BNM Examined

91AS0113E Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
11 Oct 90 p 35

[Article by Amanullah]

[Text] The Balochistan National Movement [BNM] received a serious setback last week when Mir Akhtar Mengal, Senior Vice-Chairman, and Ayub Jatak, Secretary-General, resigned from the basic membership of the party. Both leaders also announced that they would not

contest elections because they said there was no spirit of sacrifice among members of the party to accommodate each other.

But political observers think that this was not the only reason why the two left the party and withdrew from the electoral contest. From the very inception of the BNM, there were two groups within it, one led by Mir Akhtar Mengal, who is a son of Sardar Atatullah Khan Mengal, and the other by Dr. Hayee Baloch, who was under the influence of the Mekran group of Dr. Malik Baloch, Mir Manzoor Gieghi and Akram Baloch, former Speaker of the Balochistan Assembly. A tussle between Mir Mengal and Mir Manzoor started over Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, with the former opposing the Nawab's policies whereas the latter was a strong supporter. Mir Akhtar Mengal was also strongly critical of the army, Punjabi domination and the industrialists of the Hub estate in Lasbela district. He told the BNM leadership in February this year that if BNM ministers in the Bugti cabinet did not resign, then he would quit the party. Thereafter, one BNM minister and the Speaker tendered their resignations.

The formation of the Jamhoori Watan Party by Mr. Bugti and his statement criticising the extremist policies of the past while referring indirectly to Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Ataullah Mengal drove Mir Akhtar Mengal further away from Mr. Bugti and those who supported him. Sardar Ataullah Mengal, during his visit to Balochistan at the time of Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo's death last year, had called upon the people of the province to extend support to the BNM. But when employees of the Balochistan secretariat went on strike in April and the provincial government refused to accept their demands, Sardar Mengal issued a statement from London criticising the policy of the Bugti cabinet and asked BNM members to support the demands of the employees. Observers point out that the statement was a clear indication to the Baloch youth that they should part company with Mr. Bugti. It may be mentioned that the Baloch Students Organisation (BSO), student wing of the BNM, were in favour of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Ataullah Mengal ever since 1967, but for the first time in its history at its 10th national council session in Quetta this year, BSO members did not raise pro-Marri or pro-Mengal slogans. For the first time, BSO workers raised only one slogan—in favour of Dr. Hayee Baloch.

Observers further say that Mir Mengal's decision not to contest the elections indicates that Sardar Ataullah Mengal himself or Mir Akhtar Mengal will form a new party or may join an existing party to counter Bugti's politics in the province outside the assembly.

Commentary Criticizes ANP's Election Maneuvers, Alliances

91AS0082E Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
27 Sep 90 p 19

[Article by Afzal Bokhari; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Becoming gradually unpopular with some of his senior and committed party workers, ANP (Awami

National Party [P]) Chief Wali Khan has lately been trying to regain his shattered credibility by making more pragmatic policy statements.

In a vain attempt last week to clarify his new-found love for the conglomeration of the country's Rightist parties, he told newsmen that the ANP had not entered into any election alliance with the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [P]) as such. It was, he said, merely a working arrangement between the two to block the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] way to electoral success.

After Mr Wali Khan's association with the IJI, most of the ANP's old guard reject his statements on Afghanistan as sheer rhetoric but he still chose to comment on the aspect of refugees repatriation. He said that the Government and rebel Afghan leaders were forcibly holding the refugees back. If given a free choice, 80 percent of the refugees would go back on their homes. The Peshawar-based rebel leaders, who had become millionaires, did not want to lose their roaring business by going back, he charged.

'Unfair and Improper'

Mr Wali Khan's outward calm posture may not reveal it, but ANP members have privately criticised his alliance with the IJI as also the 'unfair and improper' distribution of tickets. In the PF-3 (Province Frontier) constituency, for instance, party's general-secretary, Arbab Humayun was ignored and the ticket was given to Arbab Saifur Rahman.

Unhappy with the decision, Mr Humayun went on to file his nomination papers from PF-3, which was his old constituency, and decided to give the party candidate a tough time by launching his election campaign.

Not content with that, he also persuaded a group of his supporters to form a "Save the ANP movement."

In a statement, the movement has vowed to expose the elements within the ANP which want to tarnish its image by allowing opportunists into the party. "The statement did not name anyone, but the ANP has just allowed in its fold a known political turncoat, Arbab Jehangir, and gone so far as to award him the party ticket from NA-2.

Similarly, the President of the ANP's Peshawar District Unit, Mr Mohammad Zaman Khan, advocate, defied party discipline by filing his nomination from PF-7 constituency which had been left vacant by the ANP for the IJI.

The ANP's dissident group at present is being led by Shah Jehan Khan of Tekkal (the stronghold of Peshawar's Arbab family which comes under PF-3) who views with concern the party's dubious relationship with the IJI and the Care-taker government. The group has

thrown its weight on the side of fellow dissident Arbab Humayun. It has pledged to get him elected against the party nominee.

Activists Neglected

The ANP has also neglected two of its old activists, Mohammad Nawaz and Syed Aqil Shah (son of the late hockey player Lala S.M. Ayub and owner of Peshawar's Greens Hotel). Both Nawaz and Aqil have now decided to contest as independents. As reported earlier in these columns, the chief of ANP's student wing, the Pakhtun Students Federation, Mohammad Idrees, was dismissed and he has also announced his candidature for the provincial Assembly.

Commentary Views Election, Fear of 'Bogus Voting'

91AS0082C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
27 Sep 90 pp 9-10

[Article by Zafaryab Ahmed; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Immersed in a sea of uncertainty about the prospects of the elections scheduled for 24 October, political parties and their supporters have nevertheless shown unexpected enthusiasm for the first stage of the electoral process. An unprecedented number of candidates have filed nomination papers, the candidate-seat ratio for the 207 Muslim seats in the National Assembly being 11:1 as compared to 5:1 in 1988. The ratio for the provincial assembly seats too is about the same.

There is hardly any political leader or worker or journalist who can say with full confidence that elections will be held on time. Even those who predict that the schedule will be followed also tend to qualify their statements. One main cause for uncertainty relates to the statements and demands made by different political leaders, which people interpret within the context of their own political experience. These interpretations give birth to rumours and fears. Some of the rumours, it is believed, are being consciously spread to maintain a level of confusion which can be manipulated.

IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] Infighting

The infighting in the IJI too has been a cause of apprehension. It is strongly believed that elections will be held only if the Establishment is sure of an IJI victory. This is believed on both sides of the spectrum, and the rumour was particularly strong because of Gen Aslam Beg's presence in Lahore on the same day as the IJI parties had gathered in the city to resolve their differences. By Sunday it appeared that the problems had more or less been sorted out on the main urban seats, but in the Rural constituencies the candidates had either changed sides or were still in the field as independent candidates. And the desire of the "referees" to have a one-to-one fight between the IJI and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] was near fulfillment.

This has not deterred the People's Party. An ex-MPA and applicant for a PPP ticket says: "Most of us in private conversation used to express fears of being booed when we went to our constituencies, but the way people have welcomed us is unbelievable. At least in my mind the myth of the 'sympathy vote' has ended. I too used to believe that our electoral strength was the sympathy vote for Shaheed Bhutto. But it is something more than that which I cannot fully explain. Whether elections will be held and the People's Party will win, I do not know. I believe no one knows. We are participating and will contest enthusiastically."

The fact of the PPP's popular support is coming home to all those who believed that it had been eroded. Even Makhdoom Khaliqzaman of Hala, the maverick PPP leader from Sindh whose nationalist credentials were once used to discredit the Benazir Bhutto Government and who is now considered useful to divide the PPP vote, in a recent TV programme, confessed that the PPP's popularity graph had gone up. He also announced that he would not contest against his elder brother, Makhdoom Amin Faheem, the PPP candidate. But this wave of support for the People's Party also strengthens apprehensions about the election. The pro-IJI Care-taker Government in Sindh has decided to support the Sindh National Alliance candidates and play the nationalist card to defeat the PPP—which too shows how panicky they are about a PPP win.

But—"Martial law. Aiy likh lawoo mairey wallon", says an IJI enthusiast from Beadon Road (take it from me, martial law.) "Don't you know that the People's Party is against Islam and Pakistan? How can we afford such rulers? Then what right has a woman got to come out of the four walls of her house? She should remain where she belongs."

"Elections? Forget it," said Builder Pahlwan sitting in his Baithak in Gawalmandi.

But what made him so sure that elections wouldn't be held?

After a big pause, the Pahlwan said: "I have a feeling. I am telling you. Can't you see this from the statements of Mr Jatoti? Look at the shine in his eyes. Each and every news in the papers suggests that elections won't be held."

Sitting next to Pahlwan Mohammad Nazeer, a local grocer said: "I do not know anything about politics. But there is no chance that Mian Nawaz Sharif can lose. Why should the elections be postponed? Elections will be held. And write this on my behalf."

A roadside pro-PPP teashop owner on Nisbet Road said: "If you don't print my name, I will tell you. They won't let Banazir Bhutto win. They can't tolerate a woman ruler. I was told by a high official in confidence that their wives scoff at them for accepting a woman's superiority. I am not sure whether elections will be held or not.

They wouldn't let Benazir Bhutto win."

"She can win," said trade unionist Tariq Latif, and added with a smile: "If she wins after being deposed on corruption charges, that will be a lethal combination." Tariq Latif too does not see any possibility of elections being held. "There will be martial law, I am telling you," he said.

People advance all sorts of theories, at times quite amusing. A retired army major, repeating President Ghulam Ishaq's allegations against the PPP, said: "No politician is willing to take the reins of government at this moment. You will agree with me that the country is passing through a serious crisis. No one wants to put his neck out."

Mohammad Haneef, a Jamaat-i-Islami worker who has run a shop in Lakshmi Chowk since the mid-50s and now talks like a mature political analyst, said: "You tell me first whether elections will be held or not? No one knows at the moment. It is difficult to defeat Nawaz Sharif. I am not saying that he has the electoral majority in the constituency. But the efficiency and the methods employed by them in the last two elections make Nawaz Sharif look invincible. This time they have an added edge—their enhanced capacity to buy identity cards, and they have all those I.D. cards in their custody which they couldn't collect the last time. They will be much more careful than in 1988."

Good Choice

Commenting on the People's Democratic Alliance's choice of Mr Asghar Khan to face Mr Nawaz Sharif, the JI worker said: "This is a good choice and Asghar Khan will give Nawaz Sharif a tough time. He is an upright man. I think people have an enormous amount of respect for him. The Muslim League workers have nothing substantial against him. They have only been playing on his statement against Bhutto during the PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] agitation,—perhaps in the hope that this will alienate PPP workers."

"I have such a good rapport with the People's Party workers. There is no problem at all," said Mr Asghar Khan himself after addressing corner meetings in his constituency along with the Provincial Assembly candidates, Shahid Nabi Malik and Zafar Malik.

While Mr Asghar Khan has been out campaigning in his constituency, Mr Nawaz Sharif has been an absent but looming presence. Banners, posters and hoardings can be seen all over the constituency. The banners carry Mian Nawaz Sharif's name and picture and the walls have been chalked up with slogans. Hoardings with Mian Nawaz Sharif in different poses—smiling, waving, bowing, addressing with his hand raised or clapping—have also been erected; so that while the leader is away the people do not miss him. Mian Nawaz Sharif is making sure that he wins and becomes Prime Minister. He began his campaign officially on Monday.

Commented the retired Air Marshal: "This is an obscene display of money. I do not know why the Election

Commission is turning a blind eye to it. I don't see how they can hold free and fair election in such a situation. This is not Ittefaq money. This is the money which has been diverted from rural development funds to the urban areas along with the funds allocated to candidates and the local body organisation to help the candidates."

"What is wrong with this?" This was the reply of an IJI enthusiast, Sheikh Zaka. "I think this is not enough. More should be done."

Tough Fight

If elections are not postponed, then this particular Lahore constituency, NA-95, is going to be a hotly contested one. Not just because two national leaders are pitched against each other but also because the IJI will not be able to use the weapons of alleged corruption against Mr Asghar Khan. Nor can they label him as an Indian agent. One has yet to see what they will bring out against him. The PPP supporter is much more mobilised, and it is not going to be easy for Mian Nawaz Sharif to win the seat. In his 12,000-vote margin in the last elections, there were 7,000-8,000 votes of the Pathans from Jullandher who had voted en-bloc for Maulvi Yusaf Khan, the Jamaat-i-Islami candidate, who belongs to the community. The community itself is neither overly conservative nor a sympathiser of the Jamaat-i-Islami.

But it is very strongly Pathan, and "sharafat" is an important consideration for them. With Maulvi Yusaf Khan not in the run, they will not have any moral or political compunctions to vote for Mr Asghar Khan.

The element of patronage and 'dera dari' that Mian Nawaz Sharif and his coterie have introduced in politics has its roots in feudal and factional politics. If they have won people over with favours or gift, they have also offended an equal number of people. No other place can be a better example of this than this neighbourhood.

Malik Gulfraz, whose father, Malik Aslam Hayat was a founder member of the PPP but left the party even before it came into power and whose family has had nothing to do with the PPP since then, is an ardent campaigner for the PDA because he is opposed to Mian Azhar. The goondas of the various localities whom the Sharif brothers have wooed are no Robin Hoods. The influence that they enjoy is quite fragile. Anyone who can assure the poor protection and freedom can break their shackles. One of the reasons for Mian Nawaz Sharif's victory in the last election and bye-elections was that there was no established personality to face the situation. There are a number of floating votes. A dynamic campaign aimed at mobilising votes can make it difficult to manipulate the polls.

But if the stories about bogus identity cards and the purchase of ID cards are true, then the only recourse left would be to have vigilant polling agents and a neutral election staff who can challenge bogus votes. In this case, there will be widespread violence at the polling booths. The appearance of Javaid Hashmi with a suitcase full of

identity cards—which is illegal—leaves no doubt about preparations being made for casting bogus or proxy votes. Rumour has it that all the IJI candidates possess bags full with 15,000 to 20,000 Identity Cards. With the entire administration on the IJI's side, there is also a possibility that genuine votes may be declared bogus.

It is not difficult to win over the sympathies of the election staff, most of whom are dependent on the Education Department. "You are talking about money. A smile from a minion of the department is sufficient to win over a school teacher," said Mohammad Amin, himself a school teacher. "The candidates have already started approaching us. There was a party the other day. You must remember that almost all the new appointments in the schools were made on the recommendations of an IJI MNA [member of National Assembly] or Muslim League leader."

With every new sanction of funds by the Care-taker Government to local councillors, the intentions of the administration become obvious. Even if the people are allowed to go to the polls on 24 October, the outcome is uncertain.

The mood in the PPP camp so far is good. At election meetings, workers openly criticise many of the candidates chosen by their party, but in the end they know they will vote for the arrow.

Commentary Considers Viability of Elected Governments

91AS0082A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
27 Sep 90 pp 5-6

[Text] The electoral contest for the time being appears to have moved to the courts. Under the so-called process of accountability, show-cause notices have been issued to former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in two references filed before special tribunals; and cases against the President's dissolution of the assemblies are being heard in the Sindh, Peshawar and Lahore High Courts. These are legal matters on which no immediate comment is possible, although the public's view of the blatantly one-sided nature of accountability is now well known and has been repeatedly brought out in newspaper columns. Not even a pretence has been made so far to take notice of the many serious allegations levelled against IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] leaders of corruption and malfeasance. It is equally regrettable that the President has studiously ignored all evidence pointing to widespread pre-poll rigging through the misuse of public funds and the massive transfers of Government officials. In view of the fact that the President has not acted on these and related complaints and has thus, by his own inaction, compromised his neutrality, it is patently absurd of the IJI to decry the People's Party's criticism of the President. It is clear that the primary aim remains the isolation of the PPP and particularly Benazir Bhutto, by whatever means possible. The extent to which the IJI/COP [Combined Opposition Parties] combine is prepared to go to achieve that objective is evident from

some of the alliances into which it has recently entered. It is now hobnobbing with what is called the Sindh nationalist lobby in a bid to break the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] hold in the province. When Benazir Bhutto was in power, she was accused of courting the Sindh nationalists, who have long been dubbed anti-State by the elements that dominate the IJI. Mr G.M. Syed has also been released, although he was implicated in cases allegedly of a serious nature. His release is welcome, because we firmly believe that the best way to counter the octogenarian leader's views is to let him have his say and leave him alone. But he has not been freed at this particular time because the Care-takers have suddenly discovered that the old man of Sindh was being unnecessarily or wrongly persecuted, but because he might swing a few votes in the IJI's favour. The noteworthy aspect of the matter is that the step has been taken despite opposition from the IJI's Punjab wing, many of whose stalwarts have criticised Syed's release. There is also unease among IJI circles in the Punjab over the virtual power of veto given to Mr Wali Khan about seat allocations in the Frontier. And what of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]? It has been strangely silent about the induction of well-known Sindh nationalists in the provincial cabinet and Mr G.M. Syed's release. It had previously refused to share seats with the IJI in its city strongholds. Its silence is ominous. The differences now being seen comprise merely the tip of the iceberg: the real fireworks will start if ever the IJI comes into power along with its allies of the COP.

Meanwhile, the average citizen remains doubtful whether elections will at all be held. This is despite the many assurances forthcoming from the President—the latest such assurance being given by him during his just-concluded trip to Beijing—and Ministers in the Care-taker Government, and it again shows the poor credibility enjoyed by those at the helm of affairs. A Care-taker Minister recently made a reference to Alice in Wonderland, but he lacked the vision to see beyond Benazir Bhutto whom the Minister had singled out for mention. All of us seem to be living in a world of make-believe where nothing is what it seems to be and where most accepted principles have been turned topsy-turvy. The political parties and their candidates have begun their electoral campaigns, with much money again being lavished on banners and posters, while they are not even certain about the holding of elections. It is this Alice-in-Wonderland-like quality of our politics on which the Care-taker Minister should really have expended his knowledge of the world's classics. Perhaps, Benazir Bhutto had a more valid point to make when, without referring to the book, she paraphrased the following well-known line in her address to the Lahore High Court Bar Association last week: "I will be the judge and I will be the jury and I will sentence you to death."

Beyond all the accountability and the court cases and the electoral permutations and combinations, the charges and counter-charges of corruption, and all the mumblings and fumbblings, one thing stands out starkly, and

that is the one central question at stake. It is this: can a civilian, elected government ever be permitted to stay in power in Pakistan? That is the only issue in the coming elections.

Heavy Dependence on Oil Imports, Vulnerability Viewed

91AS0082B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
27 Sep 90 p 6

[Text] Whatever else the stand-off in the Gulf may have done for many developing countries, particularly those with nationals working in the region in large numbers, it has precipitated an oil crisis whose ramifications are only now being fully realised. On Friday, the price of a barrel of oil had gone up to \$35 on the futures market, following President Saddam Husayn's statement urging his people to be ready for war. His further statement on Sunday that he would burn Saudi oilfields and his stubborn reiteration of his refusal to consider any proposal for withdrawal from Kuwait could only have sent further shock waves. The World Bank has said that the cost of oil could rise to \$65 a barrel if war broke out in the Gulf. A study done by the Bank's economists says that if efforts to defuse the crisis fail and there is war, Iraqi, Kuwaiti and Saudi oilfields could suffer long-lasting damage, "effectively removing up to 10 million barrels a day from the world market... World prices would rise to unprecedented levels in 1990 and 1991 and would remain at \$30-\$40 for another five years or so." A sustained price of even \$30 would spell serious economic trouble for at least 60 developing countries; for much of this year, till the recent OPEC-instituted increase to \$25, oil averaged \$14 to \$18 a barrel, showing the difference the crisis has already made for the oil-importing Third World countries.

Pakistan's position is as vulnerable in the long term as of any other developing State. We are heavily dependent on oil, which accounts for more than 40 per cent of our energy requirements. The value of imported oil and oil products comprises about 16 percent of all imports. Oil imports exceed 100,000 barrels a day, and 95 percent of them came from Kuwait on a concessional contract before it was occupied by Iraq. It is reported that Saudi Arabia has agreed to meet Kuwait's contractual obligation, and this is perhaps what has encouraged the Care-takers not to announce a price rise in oil and oil products. It would be an electorally unpopular decision and would cost votes to the IJI. However, if the Gulf crisis is not quickly resolved, the next government in Islamabad, when it comes, will have a major problem on its hands, and efforts to increase and develop indigenous oil output and look for alternative sources of energy will have to be stepped up. Last year, there were reports of several new agreements being signed for oil exploration and traces being found of promising new sites. The Oil and Gas Development Corporation alone had discovered six oilfields. It was also said that there were good prospects for finding oil off-shore. Domestic output did in fact increase in the eighties, but the rate was erratic. It

is obvious that the maximum possible priority will have to be given to investment in oil and gas exploration. But at the same time there will have to be a much more conscious attempt than heretofore to conserve energy. This has been given mere lip-service so far, and as a consequence there is wanton misuse of power at all levels. The entire direction of our consumption-oriented economy will have to be changed if we are ever to think of moving out of our dependence on imported oil—and imported economic guidance and foreign aid.

The Care-taker Government has imposed some restrictions on the sale of petrol on Fridays and during night-time. But such remedies are not going to be very effective when the real crunch comes. There should be a strict and total ban on the import of all big cars and the Government itself must restrict its own use of official transport. Moreover, bans imposed from time to time on illuminations, on the use of airconditioners, and on other energy-consuming activities have never really been enforced with any seriousness.

May be the Gulf crisis will finally hammer home the full extent of our abject reliance on external factors and make our planners budget for living within our means, as befits a poor country. It should be remembered that we are faced not only with a higher oil import bill but also the inflation that it will inevitably bring.

Commentary Views Decade of 'Islamization,' Role of Religion

91AS0082I Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
27 Sep 90 pp 23-25

[Article by Dr. Ziaul Haque; words in italics and quotation marks as published]

[Text] Martial law was imposed in Pakistan on 5 July 1977, in the wake of a political crisis, and the elected Government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was overthrown by a military junta led by General Ziaul Haq.

Subsequently, a political process of Islamization was introduced in the social, economic, religious, cultural and educational areas and sectors of Pakistani society with the avowed aim of transforming all these areas into an Islamic social and economic system. In reality, and in actual practice, as this all-pervasive process of Islamization was based on medieval-feudalist notions of religious ritual, this political scheme resulted in misconceptions and misinterpretations of Islamic religion. These eleven years of autocracy gradually led to depoliticization of society.

Suppressed

All popular aspirations were suppressed; the moral, intellectual and critical faculties of the people were paralysed, and irrational and anachronistic ideas were imposed on the economy and on society, resulting in stagnation of genuine industrialization, stultification of

science and technology, and division of society on religious, ethnic, and sectarian grounds.

What was the real purpose and aim of this religious scheme initiated by the Westernized ruling elites which outwardly appeared to be motivated by their desire to seek political legitimacy?

But first let us ask why Pakistan is underdeveloped as compared to the more advanced industrial countries of the world? There are two broad theories to explain this phenomenon of underdevelopment or retardation.

According to one explanation, Pakistan has a dependent and subservient capitalist sector and a weak entrepreneurial class in the context of an international capitalist order. Industrial, political, military, civil and religious elites are dependent on the powerful and developed capitalist countries. A weak national bourgeoisie, a less virile industrial system, underdeveloped science and technology and unstable economic, political, and social institutions characterize contemporary Pakistani society. Moreover, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal socio-economic formations co-exist with a modern industrial and urban sector.

Pakistan is in a disadvantaged position vis-a-vis the powerful and advanced capitalist countries because of these structural and institutional deficiencies.

The phenomenon of dependency is not merely an external relationship of one society to another, but, more importantly, the elites within a poor country defend and conserve this status-quo and reinforce it through ideological schemes as well, since this status-quo proves profitable to the rulers.

Inherent?

Some Western scholars, on the other hand, advance another explanation for our underdevelopment. They generally assume that this 'backwardness' is inherent: it is due to our static value system, rigid social structures and 'traditional' or 'primitive' ways of life. Therefore, they recommend modernization of Pakistan's traditional rural society on Western capitalist patterns: more knowledge and skill to facilitate transformation of the semi-feudal rural society into a capitalist-industrial one.

Western economists and sociologists believe that this modernization of a rural or traditional society can take place only when native values and traditions and 'primitive' structures are replaced by the values and ideas of a modern capitalist society through integration of the former into the latter—more precisely, through the creation of modern Westernized 'elites' from the amorphous social mass which must conform to the values of the modern Western capitalist culture of a consumer society. These scholars also equate capitalist economy with parliamentary democracy. According to the Western economists, for a society which emerges from feudalism on way to capitalism a class of entrepreneurs who save and invest is essential. "On the social front a

new elite must emerge to fabricate the industrial society and it must supercede in authority the land-based elite of the traditional society. Surplus product must be channelled by the new elite from agriculture to industry (A.P. Thirlwal, *Growth and Development*, London, 1989)."

In a recent study, *Islamization in Pakistan 1977-84: Disintegration of Primitive Structures* (Stuttgart, West Germany, 1989), Jamal Malik takes this capitalist theory for granted and explains the phenomenon of 'Islamization' under General Zia (from 1977 to 1984) as a deliberate and planned political scheme of the Westernized ruling elites to integrate the traditional sector into the capitalist world market in order to transform the traditional rural-feudal sector of society into a modern capitalist-industrial sector. His main thesis is that the political process of Islamization under General Zia was in reality a process of decomposition and disintegration of the autochthonous or primitive social structures in Pakistan's traditional (tribal, rural and semi-feudal) sector. This faulty hypothesis leads Jamal Malik to make wrong interpretations of religion and society in Pakistan. He even fails to ask the right questions in formulating his far-fetched hypothesis; nor does he define Islam in clear terms. In this way, he also absolves the former rulers of all their misconceived notions about Islam and their myopic policies in the social, political, religious, intellectual and economic domains which brought Pakistan to the brink of chaos and disintegration.

Pseudo-Islamization

In our view, this pseudo-Islamization has inexorably led to the disintegration of Pakistan's socio-economic political structures, and scientific culture, and to the ossification of semi-feudal, rural and primitive structures. This ill-conceived political scheme has tended to strengthen the hold of the Westernized ruling elites of compradors, feudal lords, civil and military bureaucrats and high priests through the blatant use of religious ritual. Transformation of traditional semi-feudalism into capitalism necessarily proceeds through industrialization, balanced economic growth, science, political pluralism, rational ethics, popular democracy, equality and freedom and not through religion and martial law which use force, superstition and authoritarianism without any scruples and qualms of conscience. The ruling elites of Pakistan, in our view, adopted the political scheme of Islamization in sheer desperation to forestall any radical change in the existing socio-economic relations. This religious scheme was in accord with the global interests of foreign capitalists.

The political process of 'Islamization' undertaken by the ruling elites in Pakistan from 1977 to 1988 was also nothing more than a ritualistic and legalistic exercise to destroy the popular aspirations, democratic institutions, scientific culture and critical-intellectual faculties of the working classes and broad masses. It was not a transformation of the traditional, semi-feudal sector into a developed industrial sector, as Jamal Malik wrongly thinks. Under this process, rituals were politically used

to pose as real Islam and interpreted as a complete code of life and as a social and economic system, whereas in practice, these rituals were used to promote the interests of the rich elites, the capitalists, feudals, bureaucrats (both civil and military) and the high priests.

Real Motives

Under the cover of Islamization, real and genuine concepts of democracy, equality, freedom, truth, justice and welfare were deformed, degraded and distorted as false concepts of 'Islamic' economy, 'Islamic' State, 'Islamic' science, 'Islamic' education and 'Islamic' culture, etc. The real motives and intentions of the rulers were concealed under the Islamic label.

Dictatorship posed as (Islamic) democracy, exploitation as equality, cowardice as courage, chicanery as wisdom, ignorance as knowledge, and obscurantism as research. This reversed all moral scales since what appeared as true was really false, and what seemed right was really wrong. Hypocrisy and falsehood reigned supreme and the credulous masses were cowed down with brute force, and deceived through a systematic propaganda by the State-controlled media, and State-aided research institutes, scholars and ideologues. The rulers thus interpreted the teachings of the Holy Quran (and the Holy Prophet) to suit their interests, situations, structures and institutions for which they were not originally revealed. The bureaucracy became the coercive political and administrative instrument in this religious policy of obfuscation.

The State was virtually turned into a theocracy. The masses were urged by the media to pray and pay Zakat at the rate of 2.5 percent on their savings accounts. An official Haj (pilgrimage) policy was framed every year. A profit-and-loss scheme was introduced in Government-controlled banks to assure the people that *riba* was abolished and that the capitalist economy was hence purified and Islamized. Ushr (tithe) was levied on agricultural produce. Mudaraba, pre-capitalist and medieval concept of sleeping business partnership, was introduced, wrongly assuming that it was a religiously sanctioned notion. Actually, it was meant to promote the interests of finance capital in the corporate sector of Pakistan. To replace interest with profit did not make any difference; rather it increased confusion in the economy. Even the Judiciary was tampered with. The Provision Constitutional Order of March 1980 compelled judges to take a fresh oath. Those who refused ceased to be in service. Non-conformist scholars were victimized and jailed. Military control was extended to all sectors and departments of society and economy.

Through these and other such legalistic rituals and anachronistic measures the people were made to believe that the 'reforms' constituted real Islam, that the State structures were truly Islamic and must therefore command the allegiance of the people, and whatever the rulers did in various sectors of society and economy was true and legitimate, which *ipso facto* meant that the

economic system of dependent capitalism, which placed shackles on the economy and society, was an Islamic system.

The Multinationals

So under the cover of religious ritual not only the status-quo of semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations was preserved and promoted, but new elites were also created in the rural and urban areas. The doors of the country were opened wide for the multinational corporations of the advanced capitalist countries, and goods meant for the consumption of the rich elites were either produced locally or imported from abroad at the cost of the masses, causing distortions and mis-allocations of scarce resources. The economic strategy and development planning of pampering industrialists, the robber barons, was continued in spite of the fact that these industrialists did not save resources and investments for setting up capital goods industries. Instead, they wasted them on conspicuous consumption, and on earning fabulous profits legitimized through *mudaraba*. Nor did the advantages and gains trickle down to the poor masses according to the economic theories of W.W. Rostow and A. Lewis.

The Pakistani bureaucracy, educational institutions, universities and research institutes and Government allied scholars also played their respective roles to fuel this Islamization process. The council of Islamic Ideology, the Islamic Research Institute (Islamabad), the International Islamic University, The Institute of Islamic Economics, the Hijrah Committee and scores of other institutions assisted the rulers in this political scheme.

The ideologues of Islamic science, Islamic education, and Islamic economics made every effort to destroy modern natural and social sciences and their research methodology by branding all modern knowledge as un-Islamic and blasphemous.

This is not to denigrate the discipline of Islamic economics, or the importance of the Islamic Research Institute or any other related organisation. What we are emphasizing is the use or exploitation of religion for selfish political and economic interests. The role of our intellectuals in this process of Islamization needs a separate study. Many of them collaborated with the autocrats and sought intellectual justifications for Islamization.

Documented Study

In Islamizing economics and other social sciences, Jamal Malik has fully documented in his study the role the religio-political party, the Jamaat-i-Islami, has been performing as an *avant garde*. Some works on 'Islamic' economics by Khurshid Ahmad, Muhammad Umar Chapra, Nijatullah Siddiqi, Ziauddin Ahmad (former Deputy Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan) and others were published. The Islamic University and the

Institute of Islamic Economics were established in the early 80s to impart education in 'Islamic' social sciences.

Seminars and conferences were held to define the religious science of 'Islamic' economics. The general assumption of Islamic economists is that Islam is not a mere religion or ritual but also an economic system, which they have not so far scientifically substantiated.

What happened in the political arena is writ large in the newspapers and journals of the period, from 5 July 1977 to 17 August 1988. This political Islamization ran parallel to economic and scientific-intellectual Islamization. Exploiting the famous verses of the Holy Quran about shura, consultation ("Their affairs are settled through mutual consultations." Quran, 42:38), the ruling classes devised a novel plan to deprive the working classes and masses of their fundamental rights by interpreting shura in terms of a nominated legislative assembly and establishing it in 1981. And nomination to it of ruling capitalists, bureaucrats, landlords and priests was termed as 'Islamic' democracy. In December, 1984, a 'national' referendum was held to elect the President of Pakistan. Islam was again exploited when the military ruler got himself elected as President on his claim to so-called services to Islam. This was followed in February, 1985, by 'national' elections on a non-party basis. This new mode of rigged elections was again called 'Islamic' democracy.

Several laws and Ordinances were promulgated by the autocrats claiming to be based on the 'Islamic' principles, such as the Hudood Ordinance (1979) which was used to victimize the poor and lower classes. This law prescribed severe punishments for adultery, theft and drinking, etc; but no smuggler of heroin nor any capitalist, comprador or landlord was punished. A Shariat Ordinance was also framed in haste which interpreted Islam in a tendentious way.

Laws go hand in hand with changing social conditions. The Shariat Ordinance was also framed in haste which interpreted Islam in a tendentious way.

Laws go hand in hand with changing social conditions. The Shariat is not religious ritual but, rather, connotes a way of life of truth, goodness, equality and freedom—the moral values which are the essence of any viable society. During the last four decades or so, when economic planning and strategy deliberately sought to create an elite of industrialists and merchants, other elites (bureaucratic, civil, military and feudal) were also strengthened and protected. A religious elite based on religious seminaries (madressahs), endowment (waqf) properties, and well-entrenched religio-political parties also came into being. Jamal Malik has adequately explained how this religious elite was strengthened by the Zia regime. This religious elite tends to interpret Islam and the Shariat according to its own factional and sectarian thinking, and political and economic interests.

We cannot go into the details of all oppressive laws, Ordinances and regulations imposed by the former

rulers to control the people at large. It is, however, clear that through all these so-called Islamic processes, the ruling elites deliberately attempted to politically exploit the religious susceptibilities of the masses for preserving the neo-colonial capitalist structures. This has disastrously affected society at all levels—political, economic, religious, cultural, moral and intellectual. Religion was used to suppress the masses and block any radical change in the present socio-economic relationships and structures.

The crucial question which must now be asked is: why did our ruling Westernized elites take the highly retrogressive path of exploiting religion for promoting Western culture and the ideology of capitalism and not the progressive path of science, industry and political pluralism and freedom as Western Europe did centuries ago when agrarian feudalism evolved into industrial capitalism? This must now be discussed and debated scientifically and incisively so that we can learn from our past mistakes and prepare for the future through understanding and not through deception, illusion and obfuscation.

Still Operating

General Zia perished in a plane crash on 17 August 1988, but the social forces and social classes which have been blatantly exploiting the fair names of God, Islam, and the Shariat for their selfish interests are still operating in our society. The phenomenon of Islamization or exploiting religious ritual for vested interests is ubiquitous in Third World Muslim societies. Will it recur and re-emerge in our society in some other form? Will the democratic experiment succeed in bringing a radical social change? What role must be assigned to religion in our society? What is the relation between religion and economy? Is religion a sublime relationship between man and his Creator? Or is it a political-ideological instrument mediated through a group, class or State? Islam is an emancipator of human beings from oppression, tyranny and superstition; therefore, it can no longer be used as a political instrument for slavery, obfuscation and obscurantism.

Man can approach God through three ways: action, love and knowledge, says the Bhagwat Gita. "The written code kills, but the Spirit gives life," declares the Bible (2 Corinthians 3:6). "There is no compulsion in Deen (way of life), guidance and error have become manifest and clear," concludes the Holy Quran.

Commentary Explains 'Qisas,' 'Diyat' Laws

91AS0082G Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
27 Sep 90 p 21

[Article by M. Ahmad; words in italics as published]

[Text] *The President has promulgated the Qisas and Diyat Ordinances. A Lahore advocate explains the implications.*

The concept of Qisas and Diyat has always been a part of classic Islamic jurisprudence. Their source is traced to the Holy Quran itself, which in Surah Baqra gives these rights to the heirs of a murder victim.

In Islamic law, Qisas is the right given to a person to inflict on the aggressor the very wrong which was inflicted upon the former. Diyat is blood money which a person is entitled to receive as compensation for the murder of any of his relatives from whom he would have been entitled to inherit.

In spite of being present as concepts in Islamic jurisprudence, Qisas and Diyat did not find a place in the Pakistan Penal Code [PPC]. They have now been incorporated into the law through an Ordinance issued by the President. Many a legal battle ensued before the President was compelled to enforce the Ordinance.

Challenged

The provisions of the Penal Code relating to murder and hurt were challenged as unIslamic in the Federal Shariat Court. The Court, after going through the arguments of the petitioner and the Federal Government, held that these provisions were in contravention of the principles of Islamic laws and that the Government should amend these provisions so as to bring them in consonance with Islamic law. The Federal Government, probably realising the consequences of the proposed amendments, went into appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Shariat Court and gave May 1990 as a deadline for amending the objectionable provisions. After having failed to observe the deadline, the Government asked for an extension which was granted by the Court, and finally when the extension lapsed, the provisions were amended through a Presidential Ordinance.

This Ordinance has changed the concept of murder and the punishments prescribed for it. The previous provisions spelt out the classic Anglo-Saxon concept of murder. They simply described what murder and hurt were and the punishments for committing these offences. The executing authority of all the punishments was the State and only the President and Governor were empowered to pardon a convict condemned to death.

Now, through the amendments that have been carried out, a victim or his legal heirs have also been given the right to execute punishments and inflict the same bodily injury on the culprit as was inflicted upon the victim.

Though Qisas has not been provided for in all cases, it has been prescribed for many important cases. If a person commits a crime under Section 335 of the PPC, he is liable to Qisas. This crime has been defined as "Itlaf-i-Salahiyyat-i-Udw"—"Whoever destroys or permanently impairs the functioning, power or capacity of an organ of the body of another person, or causes permanent disfigurement is said to cause Itlaf-i-Salahiyyat-i-Udw."

For this crime Qisas shall be administered by an authorised medical officer. It is also essential that the victim or his representative be present when Qisas is being administered. An example: if a person intentionally cuts off the arm of another person, then the culprit can be punished by having an arm amputated. Death for murder can also be awarded on the same principle.

Diyat has been prescribed as a necessary punishment and it is in addition to the normal prescribed punishments. The value of Diyat has been given in Section 323 PPC. It is to be calculated while keeping in mind the social and financial position of the victim. But in any case it will not be less than the value of 30,630 grams of silver, whose present value comes to Rs [rupees] 170,610. The full amount of Diyat is to be paid in cases of murder and in other case its value is to be determined according to the gravity of the crime committed.

Pardon

The Ordinance has also provided for pardoning of a criminal if the legal heirs of the victim consent to it. In such a case, a death sentence cannot be carried out.

A perusal of the Ordinance clearly indicates that this is no ordinary piece of legislation. It is something which will affect the entire fabric of society and will have far-reaching consequences. The concept of Qisas itself is a new one for our society and it is yet to be seen how many victims will want that their culprits be meted out the same punishment which they received. What effect this will have on social mores remains unpredictable.

An amendment which could conflict with social realities is the right of forgiveness which has been given to the heirs of a victim. Keeping in mind the conditions of extreme poverty prevalent in our society and understanding that most of the victims belong to the poorer classes, it can be appreciated that many heirs of the victims will forgive a murderer if they are duly compensated in monetary terms. It is feared this will become a factor in pushing up the crime rate in the country.

It will be incumbent on the new National Assembly when it comes into being to carefully examine each clause of the Ordinance and to further amend it in order to bring it in accordance with the requirements and temperament of our society.

Broadening of Higher Education Curriculum Urged

91AS0082H Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
27 Sep 90 p 22

[Article by Alys Faiz]

[Text] We have written before in these columns that our higher level English curriculum should be changed or at least broadened to include literature from Third World countries, where so many writers of repute publish their

works and in fact whose works are eagerly sought by Western publishers. There are excellent translations being done, too.

But, no, we still stuff our students with books which their grandfathers were made to absorb. Not that these books should be eliminated, but the syllabus must be chanted around, to enable students to absorb the social life, the culture and the political trends in other countries in their own part of the world.

What a wealth there is. Such wealth that African writers are awarded the Nobel Prize and students here hardly know the recipient's name.

More and more is being translated from the French-speaking ex-colonies, the Portuguese-speaking ex-colonies and the Spanish areas.

Little Mountain

A book at hand is *LITTLE MOUNTAIN*, by Elias Khoury, written in Arabic, translated by Maia Tabet, with a foreword by the U.S.-based Palestinian writer and critic, Edward Said. For Said to pen a foreword to a novel places that author in a very special category.

Elias is a Palestinian living in Lebanon, in fact he was born there, and this novel has been translated into English for the first time, published by the Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, USA.

But in the world of Arabic literature, Elias stands out as brilliant modernist. Edward Said begins his foreword with the achievements of the recent Arab winner of the Nobel Prize, Naguib Mahfouz, who has now belatedly achieved recognition in the West.

Arabic in the West has always been grudgingly regarded, its main rating of worth being that it is the language of the Holy Quran and, therefore, central to Islam, but it never meant a language of literature to the west. This is pure ignorance, of course, and due also to the fact that few worthy Arabic works have been translated and made available to the Western world. It is through translations of Palestinian poetry that the West first awakened to its beauty, although Arabic in its many forms of literature has an ancient tradition.

Belonging to Lebanon, Elias has seen what has become of his native land, living through years of war, violence, reaching almost self-destruction, which still continues. The author has before him a canvas of extraordinary width, deep in tragedy and political intricacies.

Two other great Palestinian writers have been brought through translations into contact with the English-speaking world, Ghassan Kanafani and Emile Habibi. Kanafani was assassinated by the Zionists, one of their earliest acts of terrorism. He is remembered for his magnificent novel, *MEN IN THE SUN*. Three men escaping across the border between Iraq and Kuwait in a tanker-truck die a terrible death of asphyxiation.

Habibi's work is more theatrical, less tragic, in its mixture of farce, science fiction and adventure.

Difficult to Catalogue

One has difficulty in cataloguing Elias. He has been for years working as journalist in Beirut as editor of Leftist journal, *Al-Safir*. He grew up as a schoolboy in turbulent Beirut and amidst Palestinian politics; hence, much of his work is based on actual experience. *Little Mountain* is Christian East Beirut, standing as it does higher than the rest of the city. In Elias's language one almost hears the sharp percussion of gunfire, sudden explosions and the tragedy of death. His book hardly has a true coherent pattern or form, but follows an exciting thread, into which one may pour one's own interpretations. He was exiled from his house and family because of his links with the Muslim and Palestinian forces. He fought with them in downtown Beirut and the eastern mountains of Lebanon. Then his life continues in Paris, exiled, where he encounters a friend and between them all gaps are filled for us. It is a most novel trend. The book both excites and distresses; repetition in phrase and incident give it strength and poignance.

Isolated events, then a long series, make it a novel of lasting historical worth about the war of the past 15 years in Lebanon.

We ramble with Elias through sorrow, humour, anxieties, memories and his loyalties. Lebanon for us is a war—but for what, for whom, fought for what and by whom, few of us have managed to analyse and understand.

Edward Said writes, "A few years ago, I was asked to recommend some Third World fiction for translation for an American business-house. Mahfouz was at the top of my list, but my recommendation was turned down, and by way of a rather sheepish explanation the observation was made that 'Arabic, after all, is a controversial language!'"

It is so only because of Western antagonisms, lack of sympathy and ignorance. What a pity that these attitudes have deprived our public, particularly our students not only of knowledge but of intense enjoyment.

SRI LANKA

Minister Hails 'Negotiations' in Speech to Union

91AS0110B Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English
8 Oct 90 p 5

[Text] If all categories of employees of all state sector institutions extended their fullest cooperation to respective ministries under which they functioned especially by serving such institutions efficiently and conscientiously with honesty and sincerity at their hearts, either the closure or the retrenching of staff of the respective corporations, departments and statutory boards would undoubtedly be beyond question.

Lands, Irrigation and Mahaweli Development Minister, Mr P. Dayaratna observed on the occasion of the second annual session of Mahaweli Clerical Service Union of Mahaweli Engineering and Construction Agency at which he was chief guest at Irrigation Department Auditorium, Colombo, recently.

President, Mahaweli Clerical Service Union, Mr A.J. Dunuwila welcomed the gathering.

Minister Dayaratne said that following the concept of President R. Premadasa that a great war is now being waged against waste and corruption in all public sector institutions and now the doors are being closed to bribery, corruption and malpractices in all public departments, corporations and statutory boards.

He recalled that it was due to heavy losses incurred following waste that the government was reluctantly compelled to close the shutters of the River Valleys Development Board (RVDB). By closing the RVDB the development strategy of the country was not at all affected. The machinery and equipment of the RVDB which if allowed to remain as they were, would have ended up as scrap. But within a few days of its closure all such stagnated machinery and equipment under grass were made good use of and thus utilized for the development of the country.

Minister Dayaratna stressed that when clerical hands increased in any institution, more and more problems would be created and with a view to evolve solutions to all those problems a powerful trade union with collective responsibility was an urgent necessity.

If steps were taken to close down all mismanaged and maladministered institutions, such a step would be greatly instrumental in saving the country from a perilous situation. The RVDB was wound up mainly due to its maladministration.

He said that he would not hesitate to close down even Mahaweli Engineering and Construction Agency (MECA) if there be maladministration in the institution. Such a step could never be a surprise to anyone as a decision of that nature would be greatly instrumental for the glory of the country at large.

Minister Dayaratna explained that although the construction process of the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme was almost nearing completion, more development projects such as Umaoya, Menikganga and Kaluganga were underway and it would definitely take several years in completing these vast development projects for the benefit of the country.

He reiterated that Mahaweli was not a job agency and that Mahaweli was also not prepared to offer jobs to job seekers forcibly. If the job seekers had the required qualifications and aptitude the doors of Mahaweli were always open to them.

Minister Dayaratna stressed that as in the case of other institutions, waste and corruption should necessarily be

eradicated in various Mahaweli institutions as well. Injustice should not be allowed at any cost. "We are thoroughly dedicated to this end. We greatly appreciate your unstinted cooperation and fullest support in this regard and we would always give a patient hearing to all your grievances and views for the explicit welfare of the respective Mahaweli institutions," he said.

Mr Dayaratna said that the introduction of subsidy schemes would always make our people really lethargic. "We must be determined to serve the country in earnest to suffice the salary drawn by us. We must serve for the country's sake and for the general welfare of the future generation."

Minister Mr Dayaratna assured that he would never allow such an unfortunate situation to befall on any single Mahaweli institution. As such the security of employment would always be there for all employees. If such a situation should continue honesty and integrity of both members of Trade Unions and all categories of employees and total dedication by themselves should always be forthcoming to avoid such a calamity.

He noted that in a country when there is party system, pressure was unavoidable when one party was returned to power. In this country the liberty also existed to rise up in rebellion against injustices meted out to members of any political party or trade union.

Justice, Fairplay

Mr Dayaratna said that he was totally opposed to politics being dragged into public and trade union activities. It was his practice to work irrespective of politics and mete out justice and fairplay to all alike in all public activities.

Mr Dayaratna said that he made his debut to politics, at first as an engineer and then as a member of a trade union and now as a politician and minister, he has gained through knowledge and vast experience on problems pertaining to trade unions. Great headway was made by him during the past in evolving solutions to problems strictly by negotiations.

Managing director, Mahaweli Engineering and Construction Agency, Mr G.J.P. Gunawardena, Director, Training, Mr Gamini Kudaliyanage, Director, Personnel, Mr Somsiri, President, Mahaweli Clerical Service Union, Mr A.J. Dunuwila, Joint Secretaries, Mr M.A. Gunasinghe, Mr M.P. Dayaratna and several others also spoke.

Peace: Serious Resolve, Well-Considered Proposals Urged

91AS0110C Colombo *THE ISLAND* in English
6 Oct 90 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Churchillian dictum of 'jaw-jaw being better than war-war,' is accepted even among the most belligerent of political hawks. But when a jaw-jaw stretching

over decades does not produce any breakthrough, there has to be deep thinking on why the process has failed.

In a fresh attempt to come to grips with the ethnic problem, an All Party Conference [APC] commenced deliberations some months ago. When the Sri Lanka Freedom Party pulled out of the APC, the purpose of continuing with the talks itself became questionable. But the talks continued. Perhaps it was faith, hope and determination that made the participants expect a satisfactory solution to come out.

As expected, the three Muslim parties and the six Tamil parties had failed to reach consensus on devolution of power in the Eastern province with the Muslims wanting a separate Muslim Council which the Tamils objected to. If the two minority communities have not been able to reach an agreement, it is unlikely that an agreement with the majority community could be any easier, the issues being much more complex. Negotiations, it is apparent, have not proceeded very far since the days when the Jayewardene Government began negotiating with the TULF [Tamil United Liberation Front]. The main reason is intransigence on basic issues by all contending parties.

Apparently, continuing negotiations will be futile unless there is to be some degree of flexibility in thinking of all participants. The question should be asked whether in this negotiations the basic thrust is to find a solution or that each party wants to foist their proposals on the others for petty political gains.

A notable feature in negotiations that have taken place in recent times is that the basic positions of the important parties have not been clearly spelled out.

The Jayewardene Government did in fact agree to a package of proposals as outlined in the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. The question now arises is whether a new UNP [United National Party] government follows the proposals outlined in the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. The LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] during its talks with the government never made public what their basic demands were. The LTTE's contention was that in negotiations of this nature, it was not advisable to "lay down all one's cards" at the commencement of negotiations.

While this argument is tenable it is imperative that the public must be aware of the basic positions that are being adopted by political parties. When such decisions are sprung upon the people the consequences can be calamitous as was the case with the Indo Sri Lanka agreement.

We have been stating in these columns for many years that a primary requirement for a negotiated settlement will be agreement between the organisations representing the majority Sinhalese Community on what they are willing to negotiate on. If no such agreement is reached then a settlement through negotiations will be a futile exercise. Past experience has shown us that.

Thus, the primary task would be for the Sinhalese political parties and organisations to get together and formulate a set of proposals which should try to accommodate the demands of the minority community. Political organisations of minority communities too should follow a similar procedure.

Unless there is a change of heart, a determination to resolve this problem which is costing this country so much in the form of human life and material losses and the willingness to compromise, the jaw-jaw can go on forever with nothing being accomplished.

Editorial Questions LTTE's Reported Desire To Negotiate

91AS0110A Colombo THE ISLAND in English
8 Oct 90 p 6

[Text] Prime Minister and Finance Minister D.B. Wijetunge called upon LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] separatists in the North to take the unification of Germany as an example for the world trend and to get prepared to work with the central government in a united Sri Lanka by giving up their ulterior motive of dividing this country. He said so at the opening of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research at Getambe, on Thursday.

The Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research was the first to be moved out of Colombo on the programme of shifting some ministries to outstations initiated by President R. Premadasa. This ministry was shifted to a building at Getambe in Peradeniya in which the Department of Animal Production and Health is housed.

Prime minister, accompanied by Minister of Agricultural Development and Research R.M. Dharmadasa Banda, State Minister H.M.A. Loku Banda, Minister of Agricultural Production and Marketing J.M. Wijeratne Banda and Minister Mahendra Wijeyaratne, Governor for Uva, Tilak Ratnayake, Chief Minister CPC, W.P.B. Dissanayake, Harindra Dunuwille MP [Member of Parliament], Mrs Chandra Ranaraja, Mayor and several PC [Provincial Councils] ministers parliamentarians and PC members were received by Secretary to the Minister Dixon Nilaweera. They were conducted in a colourful procession with Kandyan Dancers and elephants headed by school bands of Swarnamali BMV [expansion unknown], Kandy.

Prime Minister Wijetunge who unveiled the sign board of the ministry, planted a Na tree and lit the traditional oil lamp to open the office. The procession was organised by Chief Minister Dissanayake and Chairman CPC D.B. Samararatunga.

Addressing the gathering Prime Minister Wijetunge added that the unification of Germany was a historic event and there were possibilities of similar unification of Korea in the future. The present world trend was not towards dividing countries but to unite countries. He

called upon LTTE separatists who were engaged in a meaningless struggle in the North to take the unification of Germany as an example and get prepared work in harmony with the central government in a unitary state.

Shifting of the Agriculture Ministry from Colombo to Peredeniya on the instructions of the president was a very significant event that would be inscribed in gold letters in their political history as well as the history of that ministry. If not for the President's intelligent initiative it would never have happened. After the British rule, Colombo became the capital of Sri Lanka and all administrative and trade activities centred around Colombo. The president had decided to distribute the administrative activities now centred in Colombo among other areas. The Agriculture Ministry was the first to be so shifted and he hoped that the Ministry of Power and Energy, too, would be shifted to Kandy in the near future, added Mr Wijetunge.

Minister of Agricultural Development and Research R.M. Dharmadasa Banda said that he was happy that he was the first minister to be moved out of Colombo along with his ministry on the programme initiated by the president. He assured that none of the officials and employees of the ministry would be subjected to any difficulties, hardships or inconveniences as a result of the shifting of the ministry. He was planning to shift the Paddy Marketing Board too to Kandy very soon. He considered the shifting of the ministry as a great event and he was anticipating vast changes in the future in order to achieve the motives of the change:

Chief Minister W.P.B. Dissanayake, governor of Uva PC Tilak Ratnayake, Minister J.M. Wijeratne Banda, Ministry Secretary Dixon Nilaweera, and Kandy Mayor Mrs. Chandra Ranaraja also spoke.

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